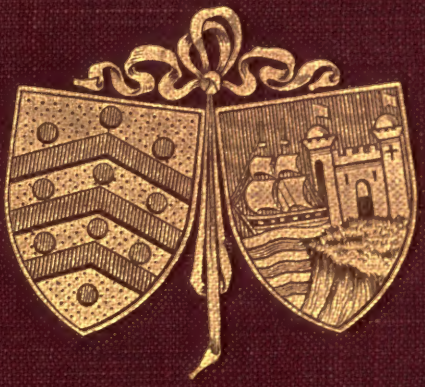
MEMORIALS OF OLD GLOUCESTERSHIRE



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MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

General Editor:
REV. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.S.

MEMORIALS OF OLD GLOUCESTERSHIRE

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THE TERRACE, BERKELEY CASTLE.

[*Frontispiece*

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MEMORIALS OF OLD GLOUCESTERSHIRE

EDITED BY

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WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,
BRUNSWICK STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E.
AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. EARL BEAUCHAMP,

Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED WITH HIS

LORDSHIP'S KIND PERMISSION

PREFACE

THE importance and dignity of the Shire of Gloucester have long demanded that its story should be included in this series of the Memorials of the Counties of England. Its wealth of historical interest, its treasures of archæological remains, the beauty of its scenery, and the triumphs of architectural skill displayed in its ecclesiastical and domestic buildings cause the county to rank high amongst the English shires. Much has been written concerning its history by able writers since Atkyns first compiled his voluminous history, and the county has been favoured by the researches of many accomplished antiquaries who have contributed papers to the transactions of the vigorous Archæological Societies which exist within its borders, and written monographs on its principal features of historical interest, its two cities, its abbeys, castles, churches and mansions.

The numerous volumes of this memorial series already published have shown that the residents within each shire are eager to possess a well-illustrated work that gathers together the results of recent research and describes the treasures of art and history that each county contains. We doubt not that the gentlemen of Gloucestershire will be equally eager to possess themselves of such a work relating to their county, and appreciate the record of the town and country life of their shire. It has been necessary somewhat to compress our material, and to omit some papers that we should like to have included; but it is hoped that those that remain will constitute a fairly comprehensive record of the chief treasures of historic interest and antiquity, and reveal to many readers the wealth that the shire contains. Of especial interest and value are the accounts of the treasures of mediæval and ecclesiastical art that are to be found within the county, the curious fonts, the

Norman doorways with their quaint sculptures, the carved woodwork of the misericords, the bells that sound in minster and in church, the unique stained glass of the Fairford windows.

The editor desires to record his grateful appreciation of the kind co-operation he has received from those who have contributed papers to this volume, and from many others who have assisted him in his labours by their advice and ready help. Especially does he beg to thank Mr. Charles E. Keyser, F.S.A., for generously presenting to this volume the unique set of plates illustrating his valuable chapter on the Norman Doorways of the county; to Mr. Leighton for his admirable set of drawings; to Dr. Fryer and to Miss Perry for the excellent photographs that illustrate their chapters. To all the authors who have contributed to the volume he is most grateful, and to Canon Bazeley, who has done so much for the shire by his research and by his labours as Hon. Secretary of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society, for the advice which his experience renders valuable. He also begs to thank Sir William H. Marling, Bart., for kindly placing at his disposal a valuable paper on the clothworking in the Stroud Valley, of which exigencies of space necessitated the omission.

To one who has been associated with the county since youthful days by residence, frequent visits and the ties of relationship, the task of editing this work has been unusually pleasant, and this pleasure has been enhanced by the friendships formed during its production, and by a renewed acquaintance with the charming regions of the Cotswolds and the fair towns and cities of the shire.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

Barkham Rectory,
October 1911.

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HISTORIC GLOUCESTERSHIRE

By the Editor

Few counties equal Gloucestershire in historic interest and can rival its store of relics of antiquity. "Cotswold, that great king of shepherds,"[1] looks proudly down upon the lovely Severn Valley, and proclaims the story of its past, the waves of conquest that have passed over it, the fierce battles that have raged, the piping times of peace and prosperity that have gladdened its old heart, the building of minsters and of goodly houses, for which its own native stone provided the material. Cotswold downs tell of the rich fleeces of their sheep that brought wealth to the old clothiers and merchants of Stroud, Lechlade, Cirencester, Fairford, and a score of other towns which now sleep peacefully in their old age; and Bristol proclaims the glorious deeds of English adventurers beyond seas, and the triumphs of trade and commerce. No other shire tells so well the story of the continuous growth and progress of English industries, or can rival the beauty and attractiveness of its scenery.

Prehistoric man has left many traces of his presence. Palæolithic weapons have been found in the Forest of Dean and on the Cotswolds, and the cavemen have left their rude tools in King Arthur's Cave near Symond's Yat. Neolithic folk have left their polished and neatly chipped flints on the Cotswold meadows, where the usual arrow-heads, knives, hammers, and axes have been found. Their pit-dwellings have been discovered on the southern ridges of the Stroud Valley, and they buried

[1] Drayton's *Polyolbion*.

their dead in the long barrows which may be seen at Uley, Amberley, Birdlip, Bisley, and in a score of other places. Then came the Celtic tribes, who subdued their long-headed, or dolichocephalic, predecessors. You can discover the round barrows, in which they buried their dead, on the Cotswold downs, where one hundred and fifty have been found, and see their pit-dwellings near Cheltenham and Stroud, while their language is preserved in the name of many a hill and river, scarcely altered by subsequent waves of conquest. The careful excavations of burial mounds, the examination of pit and pile dwellings, the collecting of flint implements and other researches during the last fifty years have thrown back our historical horizon, and enabled us to become intimate with these primitive folk, who were almost unknown to us half a century ago.

With the advent of the Romans a new era dawned upon the Cotswold land. Julius Cæsar never penetrated so far westward as Gloucestershire, and it was left to the great Roman general, Aulus Plautius, to subjugate the shire. The Celtic tribe then in possession of the land were the Dobuni, with whom we have met in Oxfordshire. They were driven westward by their powerful neighbours, the Cattuellani, who dwelt in the region now known as Buckinghamshire, and when the Roman legions in A.D. 43 landed in Britain they inhabited the Cotswold country. Over-awed by the Roman soldiers, they yielded without much fighting, and Aulus Plautius received their submission at Corinium, the ancient name for Cirencester. But complete victory was not yet won, and other British tribes were not so easily subdued. Even the presence of the Roman emperor, Claudius Cæsar, and the assistance of ponderous beasts strange to the hardy Britons—elephants—were needed to conquer the Cotswold country. The emperor came and went, gaining some victories, but by no means obtaining a grip of the land. There were the wild and warlike

Silures, who delivered harassing attacks on the Roman legionaries, and then retreated to their fastnesses in the Forest of Dean or the mountainous region of South Wales. They even tired out the veteran general, Aulus Plautius, who returned to Rome, leaving Ostorius Scapula to carry on the weary war. The new general adopted what we modern folk call the blockhouse system that found favour in the concluding scenes of the South African War. Camps were raised to crown each commanding height, and you can see these relics of Roman rule at Painswick, Leckhampton, Willersey, Stanton, Charlton Abbot, Birdlip, Haresfield, Dyrham, Lansdown, and at many other sites. Every one has heard of the fame of Caractacus, the brave chieftain of the Silures, and called by them Caradoc—how he fought gallantly with the conquerors, but was defeated and subsequently betrayed by another British tribe, and was taken to Rome to grace a Roman triumph. Even then the brave hearts of the Silures were not subdued, and the contest went on for years.

But the Romans riveted their hold on the fair vales and hills of Gloucestershire, and loved the country well. Corinium (Cirencester), the capital of the Cotswolds, was the most important town in Britain, save London, York and Colchester. The present town does not cover one-third of the space occupied by the Roman town. A strong rampart surrounded it, and there were four gates, and straight streets leading to a central forum, and forming insulæ, after the usual fashion of town-planning as practised by the Romans. It had a noble basilica, and an amphitheatre, now known as the "Bull Ring," and magnificent houses. The museum at Cirencester contains a rich store of the treasures which the earth has preserved of its ancient masters, who loved to surround themselves with luxuries and comforts, and the artistic adornments of their dwelling-places. Four great roads connected it with other important places. The Irmin

Street led from Cirencester over the steep Birdlip Hill northward to Gloucester (Glevum), and thence to Caerleon and Caerwent, and southward from Cirencester to Silchester and London.

The Acman Street, or Southern Fossway, led to Bath and Exeter. Bath (Aqua Solis) was a fashionable watering-place for rheumatic Romans, who also frequented Ad Aquas, now known as Wells. The Northern Fossway, or Acman Street, passed through Northleach, Stow-on-the-Wold, Bourton-on-the-Water and Moreton-on-the-Marsh, and thence to York and Lincoln. And besides these there was the Icnield-way, that joined the Fossway and the Whiteway leading to Chedworth and Withington.

Along these roads were country houses and farms. Chedworth and Woodchester are splendid examples of Roman villas, residences of rich Romans. They were built around a square courtyard, and had beautiful tessellated floors, and rooms heated by hypocausts. Woodchester had two courts and was adorned with much decorative ornament. Other important villas have been discovered at Witcombe, Spoonley, Lydney, Tockington and Rodmarton.

Gloucester, or Glevum, was also a famous Roman city, though not equal in size to Cirencester. It was defended by strong walls and a moat and well-guarded gates. Four principal streets met in the centre of the city. The present streets, Northgate, Southgate, Eastgate and Westgate, follow the same lines, and many remains of Roman houses and buildings have been discovered.

All was peace in the Severn Valley: Britons and Romans lived happily side by side, disturbed only by occasional attacks by the wild Welsh tribes or by the outlaws in the woods. But the time arrived when the Romans were called back to defend their fatherland, and the Britons were left sole masters of the cities and

FAIRFORD.

houses of their conquerors. The Second Legion which guarded Gloucestershire had been withdrawn. For some time peace continued in the district. Rumours reached the inhabitants of Glevum and Corinium of the advent of the terrible strangers who were soon to wrest the country from them. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* thus tersely describes the opening scene of the campaign—

"A.D. 577. This year Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and slew three kings, Conmael, Condidan and Farinmael, at the place which is called Deorham, and took three cities from them, Gleawanceaster and Cirencester and Bathanceaster."

The scene of the battle is the little hill Dyrham, and the victors were the West Saxons, who thus gained possession of the Severn Valley and completely established their rule. There they settled, and took the name of Hwiccas, governed by their king, Ceawlin, one of the leaders in the fight. He was a mighty warrior, and marched northwards to extend his kingdom as far as Chester. But the wild Welsh defeated him at Faddiley, and his people, tired of his rule, rose against him, and made his nephew king. Constant fighting raged between these various Saxon kingdoms, and fortune favoured each in turn. The men of Gloucestershire, the Hwiccas, fought side by side with their kinsmen, the men of Wessex, for the extension of their kingdom. At one time their efforts were crowned with success, and Wessex extended from the Warwickshire Avon to the southern coast, and from the Thames to the Severn. But this time of prosperity did not last long. Mercia rose into power, the great middle kingdom, under Penda and Offa, and in 650 the land of the Hwiccas formed part of the Mercian kingdom. This land included parts of the counties of Gloucester and Worcester and a small portion of Warwickshire. Christianity came to this

region through Wulfhere, the Christian son of Pagan Penda, King of Mercia, and more especially through Osric, Viceroy of the Hwicca, a Northumbrian prince, who governed the land under Ethelred. Osric founded churches and monasteries, and when Theodore became Archbishop of Canterbury, seeing that Mercia was too large a district for one bishop, he divided the kingdom into four, and set over the Hwiccas a bishop, who built his church at Worcester, and until the Reformation Gloucestershire continued to form part of the diocese of Worcester, with the exception of the western portion, which was attached to the see of Hereford.

But the sun of the Mercian kingdom set before the might of Egbert, King of the West Saxons. Though he was of their race, the men of Gloucestershire fought against him, and resisted his sovereignty. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us that Æthelbund, ealderman of the Hwiccas, rode against him, crossing the Thames at the Cynemæres Ford at Kempsford, and fought against Weohstan, the ealderman of Wilts, "and there was muckle fight, and both ealdermen were slain, and the Wilts men won the day." For over twenty years the warfare between the dying Mercia and the rising Wessex continued. A great battle was fought between the rival kingdoms at Wroughton, near Swindon, where Egbert triumphed; and Mercia, with Gloucestershire, became part of Wessex.

But the English had other enemies to encounter when the dread Vikings came with their ships and sailed up the estuary of the Severn, plundering and ravaging, destroying the harvest and killing the people. Their first appearance was in 877, when King Alfred fought against them, exacted terms of treaty from them at Exeter, which were immediately broken by the marauders. They besieged Gloucester and conquered the city, penetrating inland across the Cotswolds to suffer defeat at the hands of Alfred at Edington. Again they came in 879, and

settled in Cirencester, and again in 894, when at Buttington they were besieged and suffered great slaughter. But they left their mark on the shire. Bristol sprang into being as a port owing to the settlement of the Danes in Ireland, which first caused commercial intercourse between the two islands, cargoes of slaves being the iniquitous merchandise. Against this traffic Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester waged unceasing protest. The Danish suffix *thorpe* can be seen attached to several place-names in Gloucestershire, signifying Viking settlements, such as Brookthorpe, Colthrop, Woolstrop; and the Daneway marks the footsteps of the marauders. It may be noted that Alfred's heroic daughter, Ethelfleda, who married Ethelred, and bravely contended with the Danes, lies buried at Gloucester.

The tenth century marked the partition of the Mercian kingdom, which took place about the year 910. It was divided into several shires, which took their names from the chief towns in the various districts. Thus we have Worcester-shire, Warwick-shire, Oxford-shire, and several others, including the shire of Gloucester, which during the Saxon period regained the importance it enjoyed in Roman times. It was destined to become one of the chief cities of the kingdom, and every event of historical importance seems somehow to have been connected with this west-country capital. Hither came King Edward the Confessor raging against Earl Godwin. Castle Godwine, near Painswick, marks the site of the encampment of the earl's army, and hither came his son Harold to wage war against the Welsh, winning the hearts of his future subjects.

Brief was his reign, and then stout William came, and the men of the shire submitted to him without a struggle. The king held his Witan at Gloucester, and arranged there the compilation of Domesday Book. He hunted in the Forest of Dean. He turned out English landowners from their estates, and gave them to his

Norman adventurers. After his death the county became the scene of the contest between the Red King and his elder brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, for the throne of England. The will of the Conqueror decreed the crown to Rufus; the barons declared themselves in favour of Robert. The lord of the castle of Bristol plundered Berkeley and the southern part of the shire, while Bishop Wulfstan held the northern district for the king. We need not recount the misdeeds of Rufus, his treachery, his purloining of the revenues of the see of Canterbury while he kept it vacant, his repentance during a severe illness at Gloucester, his appointment of Anselm, and then his quick return to his unrighteous ways directly the hand of sickness was removed. His conduct illustrates the old rhyme—

> "The de'il was sick, the de'il a monk would be;
> The de'il was well, the de'il a monk was he."

Prophetic were the words that the preacher uttered in Gloucester Abbey Church—"The bow of wrath is bent, the arrow swift to wound is drawn from the quiver"—foretelling the death of the ruthless king in the New Forest. Henry I brought peace to the land and governed well. The partisans of Duke Robert still troubled the lands of the loyal barons in Normandy, and Henry captured him and brought him to England. For many years he languished in the castle of Bristol, which was rebuilt by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of the king.

The shire was the great theatre of the war in Stephen's reign, and suffered much during the struggle. Anarchy prevailed. Earl Robert fought for his sister Matilda, and Milo, governor of Gloucester Castle, supported her cause. We see Stephen entering Gloucester and then besieging Bristol, revenging himself for his unsuccessful attack by ravaging the country. Then Matilda came to the capital, and Earl Robert captured Worcester, the

CHIPPING CAMPDEN.

Earl of Worcester revenging himself by attacking and plundering Sudeley Castle, which was again taken by the supporters of Matilda, who marched on, over the Cotswolds, past Cirencester, and defeated Stephen's followers at South Cerney. Stephen was a prisoner for some time at Gloucester Castle. The castle at Cirencester was afterwards taken and destroyed by him, and also that at Beverstone and Sudeley Castle. So the tide of battle rolled on, but with the death of Earl Robert at Bristol in 1147 the struggle wore itself out, and the Treaty of Wallingford ended the terrible years of civil war. Adulterine castles were destroyed, the land had rest, and prosperity dawned.

If we would catch a glimpse of the county in the twelfth century, we should see the powerful Earls of Gloucester and Hereford ruling with all the power granted to them by the complete establishment of the feudal system, and the lords of Berkeley scarcely less powerful in their castle, which still testifies to their greatness. We should see the monks very busy in their monasteries, and the quays of Bristol alive with commerce. Soap and Gascon wines constituted its chief trade, which was assisted by the Jews, who had a wealthy colony in that city. Under Richard I the Merchants' Guild of Gloucester sprang into being. John's misrule is a sorry chapter in English history, and his hateful presence was not unknown in the city of the west, whither he came to seek refuge from his revolting barons, and in its diocese found his last resting-place. Gloucester saw the coronation of his youthful successor, who loved the city and often sojourned there.

Civil war again raged, and the fair county of Gloucestershire was the scene of many fights. Here Henry came to fight against Richard Marshall, the son of his old friend and councillor, William Marshall. But the barons espoused Marshall's cause, and the king's foreign favourites were expelled. Again they came in the train

of the queen, Eleanor of Provence; and Simon de Montfort, himself an alien, Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and other barons started a revolt. For a time the barons triumphed, and had the king and Prince Edward in their power, but they quarrelled amongst themselves. The powerful Earl of Gloucester deserted to the royal cause. Gloucester was captured by the king's party, and at length the battle of Evesham, just beyond the borders of our county, and the death of Simon de Montfort, caused an intolerable civil war to cease.

When Edward I reigned efforts were made to improve the social condition of the people and perfect the English constitution. Important Parliaments were held at Gloucester, where, in 1278, the Statutes of Gloucester were passed for inquiring into the powers and rights exercised by the great lords in their domains. This led to the diminishing of many burdens and the establishment of English liberties. Bristol increased in importance. Its port was crowded with shipping. By royal command its vessels guarded the Irish Channel, and its citizens became powerful men, united in the guilds and civic life, ready to dispute with the lords of Berkeley with regard to tolls, and even with the king's commissioners when they deemed that their rights were being tampered with.

The nearness of Wales brought Gloucestershire into connection with the Welsh wars. Though these raged chiefly in the north, some of the southern chiefs rebelled after the death of Llewellyn, and Gloucester saw the assembly of an army under the Earl of Cornwall, which crushed the revolt and hanged the rebels.

The second Edward's reign of misrule brought trouble and war into the shire. The men of the county opposed his favouritism and his favourites, especially the hateful Despencers. Hither came the luckless king to overawe his rebellious barons, especially Lord Berkeley and Sir

John Giffard of Brimpsfield Castle. We see him at Gloucester, and then seeking safer quarters at Bristol Castle. At Cirencester, too, he stayed, and kept his Christmas feast. He was opposed by the barons, and on Birdlip Hill, that steep, troublesome road which tests the powers of modern motor-cars, his baggage was captured. But for a time fortune favoured his arms. His enemies were defeated and slain. Their domains were given to the Despencers, and loudly did the English cry their protests. The queen headed a revolt against the monarch, and soon the screams of the victim of terrible violence startled the echoes of Berkeley Castle. Gloucester Abbey benefited by his death, whither the body of the murdered king was conveyed after the refusal of the abbots of Malmesbury and Bristol to receive it. It became a place of pilgrimage, and costly offerings were made at his tomb.

Bravely did the men of the shire fight in the French wars, especially the Berkeleys, who were all gallant soldiers, and no better archers in England drew bow than those who came out of the Forest of Dean. The Black Death swept over the shire, Bristol being the starting-place of the dread pestilence. During the troubles that beset the new king, Henry IV, Cirencester played an important part. Hither fled the conspirators, the Duke of Kent, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Spencer, and Sir Thomas Blount, with their troops, on a cold wintry evening, January 7, 1400. Lancastrians to the core, the men of Cirencester liked not their visitors. They stormed the house in which the nobles slept. Fierce was the fight, but the men forced the rebels to yield, their lives being spared until the king's pleasure was known. Crowds flocked into the town. A house was fired by accident, or by an agent of the rebels. This roused the fury of the mob. They rushed to the abbey and demanded the prisoners, two of whom they beheaded in the market-place. Bristol saw the execution of Lord

Spencer, and Oxford the slaughter of Sir Thomas Blount and twenty others. The king did not fail to remember the good services of the men and women of the town, who received annually ten deer and two hogsheads of wine, while the bailiff, John Gosyn, had a pension of a hundred marks.

The story of Berkeley Castle will tell of its sieges and the sad disputes between its rival claimants, and need not be here repeated; but the last and fiercest battle of the Wars of the Roses, the bloodiest battle ever fought on English soil, the death-knell of the House of Lancaster, was fought on Gloucestershire ground at Tewkesbury, when the brave Queen Margaret's host was overwhelmed by the Yorkist Edward, and the light of her eyes, the young Prince Edward, her son, cruelly butchered in her presence. It would be interesting to trace the course of the rival armies, the fortunes of the fight, and the woful slaughter that ensued, but want of space forbids so long a chronicle.

We will glance at the condition of the people of the shire. Gloucestershire in the fifteenth century was very prosperous. The Cotswold district was ever famous for its sheep, and their rich fleeces laid the foundation of the wealth of the great wool-staplers and cloth merchants who reared their fine houses and built noble churches, and caused thriving towns to spring into being in that region. We read that Cotswold feeds "the multitude of sheep, which yield such fine Wool, and so White, that it is coveted not only in other Parts of this Nation, but in foreign Countreys; but the inhabitants are so wise, that they make such improvements of their wool, that their sheep may be said to bear Golden Fleeces to them, for the Clothing Trade is so eminent, and used in so many Towns of this Country, that no other Manufacture deserves to be mentioned in comparison of it." It was the wise policy of Edward III which encouraged the making of cloth in the Stroud Valley. Fuller tells how

STROUD.

the Netherlands grew rich by the manufacture of English wool, and how the Duke of Burgundy instituted the Order of the Golden Fleece, wherein indeed the "Fleece" was ours, but the "Golden" theirs, our people being as ignorant of the art of making curious drapery as the sheep. Hence the king induced seventy families of skilled Flemish workers to settle in England, and especially in Gloucestershire. Fuller tells of "a prime Dutch cloth-maker in Gloucestershire named Web," whose name still survives, and the names of Clutterbuck, Hague, Malpass, Prout, Pettatt, bespeak a foreign origin.[1] You can read the names of some of these worthy merchants on their tombs in the churches they built. John Tame rebuilt Fairford Church for the glass that he had brought with him from the Netherlands, which glass the present vicar will describe for us. William Grevel, who died in 1407, described as *flos Mercatorum lanarum Totius Angliæ*, lies at Chipping Camden, with his comrades in trade, William Welley, John Letheward, and John Martin. Thomas Bushe, merchant of the staple of Calais, and his wife, Johan, lie at Northleach, which church was "made more lightsome and splendid by one Mr. Forty, a wealthy clothier of this town, at his own proper cost and charge." These and many other churches erected in the fifteenth century, in good Perpendicular style, are worthy memorials of these good wool merchants, who loved to devote their wealth to the honour of God.

Another writer will tell of the iron-workers of the Forest of Dean, and we shall read of the great merchants of Bristol, of the fame of William Canynges, who built St. Mary Redcliffe, and other great men who made the city prosperous.

But a great change soon passed over England. A rapacious king and his courtiers cast covetous eyes on

[1] *The Woollen Industry of Gloucestershire.* By Sir W. H. Marling, Bart.

the abbeys and other monastic houses throughout the country. The beautiful buildings of the monks and friars were doomed to destruction. Little protest seems to have been made by the men of the shire. Most of them, prosperous middle-class people, were sharers of the spoil. It is well known that the arch-spoiler, King Henry VIII, for conscience' sake, devoted some of the wealth derived from his portion of the plunder to the founding of bishoprics. Six sees were created, and it is curious to note that two of them were in Gloucestershire. The church of the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester became the cathedral of that city, and that of St. Augustine's Abbey at Bristol the cathedral church of the great port. The church of Tewkesbury Abbey was rescued by the townspeople and preserved as their parish church.

During the period of religious strife, the shire showed strong Protestant tendencies. William Tyndale was a Gloucestershire man, born at North Nibley in 1484, and for some time was tutor to the family of Sir John Walsh, of Little Sodbury Manor. There were martyrs for their faith in Gloucestershire, the most prominent being Bishop Hooper, second Bishop of Gloucester, who was burnt in that city, and Bishop Latimer, at one time Bishop of Worcester, of which diocese the shire formerly formed part.

With the advent of Queen Bess, English seamanship increased its strength, and the port of Bristol was crowded with shipping. Adventurers went across the seas to discover new lands and "to singe the beard of the King of Spain." From Bristol port had sailed Sebastian Cabot, who discovered the continent of America before Columbus, more than half a century before the reign of Elizabeth. Visions of new lands, endless treasures, adventures by land and sea, filled the minds of gallant youths, and bravely did they fight for England when the Invincible Armada appeared in sight, and all the country was aroused to face the hostile fleet.

Sir Francis Drake was living for a time in the county to inspire their efforts, and the barque *Sutton*, provided by Gloucester and Tewkesbury, played its part in defending the English coast. There were also peaceful triumphs in those spacious days. The wool staplers of the Cotswolds greatly flourished, and the manufacture of woollens made rapid progress. This was afterwards greatly aided by the advent of skilled Huguenot families who fled to England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Civil war soon disturbed the quiet hills and vales of Gloucestershire, when King and Parliament were ranged in deadly conflict. The shire seems always to have attracted combatants when strife raged on English ground. The sympathies of the people were on the side of the Parliament, and the feeling strongly Puritan. We cannot follow the fortunes of the war. Cirencester was attacked by the king's troops, but bravely defended by the men of the town. Sudeley Castle was captured by the Parliamentarian forces. Then came the gallant Prince Rupert to the rescue. Cirencester fell before his onslaught, and soon he was hammering at the gates of Bristol, assisted by the Royalist victors of Roundway Down, and caused its surrender. But Gloucester was a thorn in the side of the Royalists. Stubbornly did the citizens resist the attacks of King Charles and his army for nearly a month, when the siege was relieved by Essex and the trained bands of London. This was a severe blow to the Royalist cause. Much fighting, marching, and counter-marching ensued, and we cannot follow the movements of the king, Essex and Waller, Sir William Vavasour, Massey and other leaders. Skirmishes and bloodshed took place everywhere. The farms were pillaged by both parties, and the woollen mills were plundered. Food was scarce and the people starving. It was in Gloucestershire, at Stow-on-the-Wold, that the deciding battle took place, which forced Charles

to yield himself to the foe and to begin his last sad march that ended at the scaffold at Whitehall.

"When the king enjoyed his own again," and monarchy was restored, there were great rejoicings in the country, wearied of Cromwellian rule. The king wreaked vengeance on the Gloucester city that had resisted his father's arms, and ordered it to be dismantled and its castle destroyed.

The Duke of Monmouth's rebellion caused the sound of fighting to be heard again at Sedgemoor, just over the county boundaries, and the wicked Judge Jeffreys came into the county on his "Bloody Assize," and hanged or transported to the West Indies hundreds of innocent persons. The port of Bristol was busy shipping these white slaves across the Atlantic, and the merchants found the trade so profitable that they kidnapped people and shipped them overseas to the plantations. This infamous traffic was a disgrace to the fair fame of the western port. To Bristol came Dutch William on his march to London to seize the royal crown. Since then the western county has been undisturbed by war's alarms, or been the scene of any great historical events. The trade of the county has declined; machinery and steam have revolutionized the old methods of wool-spinning and cloth-making; and much of the manufacture has been transferred to the more favourable regions of Lancashire and Yorkshire; but thirty years ago the trade was prosperous; no cloth in England is better than that produced by the West of England looms, and the skill of the cloth-makers of the Stroud Valley may soon restore prosperity to Gloucestershire's ancient industry.

If space permitted, we should like to visit and to describe Cheltenham in the days of its glory, when, owing to its famous waters, it was the leading centre of fashion, and vied with Bath and other watering-places for the patronage of the *beau monde*. The visit of

Ampney Crucis, Church and Cross.

George III, Queen Charlotte and their buxom daughters in 1788 was the starting-point in its history. Its rise was rapid. "Already we hear nothing but Cheltenham modes, the Cheltenham cap, the Cheltenham bonnet, the Cheltenham buckles; in fact, all the fashions are completely Cheltenhamized throughout Great Britain" —so the London newspapers of the day tell us. It would require a graphic pen to describe all the routs and balls, plays and junketings which a study of the *Cheltenham Post-bag* and other kindred literature reveal. Though its revellings have ceased, Cheltenham preserves its beauty, its schools are world-renowned, and the town is the Mecca of military men, who though still vigorous a foolish country forces into retirement.

The shire still retains its attractiveness. The noble buildings of the Cotswolds, the gentle Severn river, the crowded port of Bristol, the solitudes of the Forest of Dean, the steep roads that climb the hill, such as Birdlip or Leckhampton, all recall the story of the past history of the county, and make to live again the momentous events which they have witnessed in times that are gone.

THE ANCIENT FORESTS OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE

By J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

The Forest of Dean so immeasurably excelled all other forest tracts of the county of Gloucester, both in extent and in historic and economic importance, that it has for the most part overshadowed the incidence of other old woodlands or hunting districts within the limits of the shire. Gloucestershire, however, both in its climate and soil, is eminently suited for timber growing throughout by far the greater part of its area. It may, therefore, be well to briefly indicate other tracts of woodland or of forest before proceeding to the more extended notice of the celebrated district that lay between the Severn and the Wye.

Irrespective of the worth of the actual timber, the chief value of the forest woods of early days consisted in the autumn pannage of acorns and beechmast for the feeding and fattening of the pigs, the maintenance of which was all-important as supplying the chief food of the poorer classes. The Domesday Commissioners naturally varied in those somewhat primitive times in the methods of computation that they adopted, and especially was this the case with regard to woodlands. The most general plan was to furnish a rough estimate of the extent of the woods by certifying the number of pigs admitted to pannage. In other counties the size of the woods was entered by setting out the area, in broad terms, by lineal measure (miles and furlongs), as in Derbyshire, Northamptonshire and Worcestershire, and

in other cases, as in Lincolnshire, by square measure or acres. In Gloucestershire the size of the woods on the different manors is given by both the latter methods of measurement, though the lineal measure largely predominates. The *leuca*, or league, may be taken as representing about a mile and a half of our measurement. In a single case the Domesday Commissioners for Gloucestershire entered the value, as well as the extent, of the wood; on the manor of Tortworth there was a wood about a league in length and half a league in breadth, which was rented at five shillings; this works out at the rate of a penny for twelve acres. The large woods of Gloucestershire, in those early Norman days, were fairly distributed over the county, save on the eastern side bordering on Oxfordshire, extending from Chipping Camden in the north to Fairford in the south. By far the largest wood was that of Painswick, about the centre of the county to the north of Stroud; it measured five leagues by two leagues. The next largest recorded wood was that of Sudeley, three leagues by two leagues, immediately to the south of Winchcombe. The Deerhurst district, on the northern verge of the county, near Tewkesbury, had several large woods; and there were also many of considerable size from Dymock and Bromesberrow, near the north-west extremity of Gloucestershire, down to Lydney in the Dean district. Other considerable stretches of woodland occurred on the eastern side of the Severn estuary, as at Thornbury, Rockhampton and Alveston.

As to royal forests—that is, the partially wooded districts reserved under special laws for the hunting of kings and of those licensed by them—the Domesday Survey is naturally, for the most part, silent throughout England. This arose from the fact that these royal demesnes were not subject to any assessment, and hence there was no use in registering the acreage of such woodlands. In the south, towards Bristol, which was

largely under forest laws, the names of Kingswood, both at Berkeley and Bristol, bear testimony to woods on the royal estates. With the exception of this particular region, the various parts of Gloucestershire which were most densely wooded eight or nine centuries ago are still well timbered, though, of course, to nothing like the same extent. The slight references in the Survey to the Forest of Dean are mentioned below.

It is a very rare thing for the nature of a wood to occur in the Survey, but Mr. Taylor, in the elaborate analysis of the *Survey of Gloucestershire*, printed in 1889, considered that the *sapina* which lay in the king's farm at Westbury-on-Severn was "a firwood, maintained for the sake of the timber, perhaps for building ships"! A firwood at that time in the south of England would have been a most extraordinary occurrence, and we feel by no means sure that Mr. Taylor is right in his interpretation of this most unusual low-Latin word. At all events, however, Mr. Taylor is nearer the mark than Mr. Bawden, who translated the Gloucestershire Domesday in 1812; he imagined that Sapina was a lady's name!

Thirty acres of *broca*, or brushwood, are mentioned under Elmstone.

There are about forty references in Domesday to vineyards, chiefly in the south of England, as in Wiltshire. There is a single entry in Gloucestershire, where William de Oro held a vineyard of about an acre (*ij arpens vinee*) at Stonehouse. The culture of the vine was probably introduced into England by the Romans, and it is interesting to note that Stonehouse is near to the Roman settlements of Frocester and Woodchester. Mr. Taylor thinks that the name Vinegar Hill Farm in this parish is a place-name survival of this ancient vineyard.

A few instances occur of *haiæ*, or hays, which were enclosures formed by high hedges in districts where game abounded. Occasionally these Domesday hays

were of small dimensions, and chiefly constructed as large traps into which the roe-deer were driven for convenience of capture, as was the case in Cheshire and Shropshire, where hays were of frequent occurrence. More often the hay of the Survey signified a large enclosure or park of sufficient size to admit of hunting within its fences, and herein a herd of fallow-deer was usually maintained. This was clearly the case with the three hays in the joint manor of Churcham and Highnam, held by the Abbey of Gloucester, wherein, as expressly stated, the Church had hunting rights both in the days of the Confessor and the Conqueror.

The term park (*parcus*) is of infrequent occurrence in the Survey. It is found once in Gloucestershire, namely, on the king's manor of Old Sodbury, held by Brictric, where there was a wood a league long and a league broad. The difference between the hay and the park would be that the latter was more definitely fenced, and probably of larger extent and of older establishment. The same Brictric also held Avening, where there was a yet larger wood and an eyry, or breeding-place, for hawks for sporting purposes.

Although the Domesday Survey is almost entirely silent, here as elsewhere, with respect to the diverse kinds of trees, the place-names may be trusted to the extent of showing the diversity of Gloucestershire trees in pre-Norman days. The oak immensely predominated, and was followed next in sequence, though at a considerable distance, by the beech. The oak is commemorated in the names of Acton, Acton Ilgar, Acton Turville, Oakford, Oakhanger, Oakle Street, Oakridge and Oakwell; the beech, in Buckholt, Buckland and Buckover; the alder, in Alderley and Alderton; the ash, in Ashbrook, Ashchurch, Ashelworth and Ashton; the birch, in Berkeley; the box, in Box and Boxwell, where a box-wood of forty acres still survives; the elm, in Elmbridge, Elmstree, Elmore, and Elmstone; the hazel, in

Hazelton, Hazleton, and Notgrove (formerly Nutgrove); and the willow, in Saul.

It may be well to set forth a few brief particulars as to the old forest grounds of Gloucestershire to the east of the Severn before proceeding to the celebrated tract on its western bank. These forests, all at one time reserved to the Crown or they would not have borne that name, though occasionally styled by other denominations, were three in number, respectively known as the Forests of Kingswood, Cirencester and Corse. They had all ceased to have any definite Crown rights by the time of the terrific storm of 1222, when the customs as to cablish, or windfallen and uprooted trees, were suspended, and special returns ordered to be made. At that time the only Gloucestershire writs which were issued to forest ministers were those of the Forest of Dean.

The Forest of Kingswood, adjacent to Bristol, was for the most part associated in administration with the neighbouring forest or chase of Filwood in Somersetshire. It was also known as the Forest of Harwood or Horewood, Alveston, Furches or Furchis, and Keynsham; the last of these places is just over the borders in Somersetshire. This forest area gradually became of considerable size in the twelfth century, chiefly through the continued encroachments of Henry II, until almost the whole of the south corner of Gloucestershire—bounded by Somersetshire on the south, Wiltshire on the east, the Severn on the west, and a line roughly drawn across from Rockhampton to Tetbury on the north—was under the severity of the old forest laws. These encroachments caused intense resentment, especially in the neighbourhood of Bristol, and, soon after the accession of the boy-king Henry III, the Forest Charter destroyed the forest claims of this district, for it was thereby enacted that all parts which Henry II had afforested were to be viewed by good and lawful men and forthwith disafforested, saving only that which was royal demesne. There was,

however, much delay in carrying out this charter, the surveys being frequently adjourned. Though the claim on the part of the Crown to the whole of this great district as a hunting-ground was evidently abandoned by 1222, it was not until 1228 that the formal act of disafforesting was accomplished, as stated in both the Close and the Charter Rolls. On May 6 of that year the sheriff of Gloucestershire was instructed that all the woods, towns and lands to the east of the Severn which lay between the wood of Furces near Bristol in the south, and Huntingford (a hamlet of Wotton-under-Edge) in the north, and which extended to Rugeway on the summit of the hill of Sodbury, were disafforested. The one exception in this disafforesting of a district about fifteen miles square was the old royal park of Alveston, which is specially mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1130. This charter, though to some extent partially evaded by the Crown at later dates, was most explicit in restoring this considerable territory to the ordinary jurisdiction of the realm. By its terms, the inhabitants were to have free right to enclose or impark their lands, or to cultivate and sell their woods; there were not to be any further pleas of the Forest of Harwood, and they were not to be in any way answerable to forest ministers.

The small exempted district of Alveston Park soon, however, ceased to be royal demesne, for it was granted in 1230 by Henry III to Fulk FitzWarin; four years later it was stocked with deer from the Wiltshire royal forests of Braden and Chippenham.

The later story of the parts of Kingswood Forest, near Bristol, where deer were maintained, has been told in Mr. Braine's monograph, which was published in 1891.

It is somewhat remarkable that the place-names of this part of the county to the north and east of Bristol, now the most bereft of woodland, bear abundant evidence of their luxuriance in the earlier days. The terminal

"field"—almost invariably written "feld" in the older documents—denotes a place where the woods had been felled and a clearing made for cultivation or occupation. Now the "field" terminals of Gloucestershire are quite rare in other parts of the county, but in this division occur Charfield, Compton Granfield, Driffield, Eastfield, Elfield, Heathfield, Henfield, Horfield, Mangotsfield, Marshfield, and Nympsfield, as well as a considerable number of small hamlets or farmsteads with a like ending which are to be found on the larger Ordnance maps.

In the twelfth century Gloucestershire possessed in another quarter a small area reserved for royal sport known as the Forest of Cirencester. It appears under that name in the Pipe Roll of 1130, when it brought in profits to the Crown amounting to the modest sum of forty shillings. This piece of hunting territory was doubtless an overlap from the adjacent Wiltshire royal forest of Braden. Braden was not formally disafforested until the days of Charles II, but this outlying Gloucestershire portion lost its forest rights at a very much earlier date; for the two Cirencester woods mentioned in Domesday, those of Oakley and Minety, were conferred by the assessor on the Abbey of Cirencester, with certain reservations. The fine primeval beech-woods on Earl Bathurst's Cirencester estates were once within the compass of this small forest. It should also be mentioned that the Domesday Survey contains incidental reference to the reservation of this manor for royal sport; even in the Confessor's day part of the render of Cirencester was food for the king's hounds.

The third of these forest districts is in a very different part of the county, namely, to the north of Gloucester and on the Worcestershire border of the shire. The Forest of Cors, or Corse, occupied the whole of the parish of that name, as well as portions of three adjoining parishes, and formed part of the forest jurisdiction of Malvern Chase. The men of Gloucestershire strongly

resented being taken across the border into Worcestershire for venison or vert trespasses. In the days of Henry III the Forest of Malvern, together with its small adjunct the Forest of Corse, was granted by the Crown to the Clares, Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, and hence became technically chases, though retaining much of the former local forest jurisdiction. Corse Lawn, a former pasturage stretch of this forest, celebrated for its fine chestnut trees, remained an open common until 1796, when it was enclosed by Act of Parliament.

THE FOREST OF DEAN.

When Atkyn wrote his *Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire* in 1768 the Forest of Dean was accounted the third in size of the forty-eight old royal forests of England. In those pages a fairly accurate outline was given of its history, which was materially supplemented by Rudder in his *New History of Gloucestershire*, issued in 1779. The Rev. H. G. Nicholls published *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Forest of Dean* in 1858, to which he added a supplemental volume in 1863. There is also a great amount of detailed information as to this forest, chiefly concerned with its condition and treatment in the eighteenth century, to be gathered from the Third Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests (1783–97). Various treatises and essays as to this fascinating forest district have also been put forth at later dates. But a thorough analysis of the vast amount of historical lore in connection with the ancient timber and mineral stores of the Crown, which were so valuable in this corner of Gloucestershire, as contained in the Public Record Office of Chancery Lane and in other depositories, has never yet been attempted.

Roughly speaking, the Forest of Dean, a considerable division in the west of Gloucestershire, comprises about

25,000 acres, lying between the Severn and the Wye. Michael Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, thus commemorates its great dimensions—

> " . . . Queen of forests, all that west of Severn lie,
> Her broad and bushy top Dean holdeth up so high,
> The lesser are not seen, she is so tall and large."

The district was well known to the Romans, and highly interesting and important traces of their several centuries of occupation have been found, as at Lydney, and still come to light from time to time. The strategical centre of the west of Britain was the Roman station of Glevum, and the villas or country houses of the leading agricultural occupants clustered thickly in the valleys of the Severn and Avon. The main road of this part of England ran from Corinium (or Cirencester) to Glevum, and from Glevum on to the mines of Dean Forest, where great piles of refuse still mark the extensive workings of the Romans on various sites, and the insufficient methods of their smelting.

In addition to that which archæology reveals of the early history of this district, there is record evidence available as to its story in pre-Conquest days. The Domesday Survey tells us that under Edward the Confessor three thanes held land in Dean free from geld by the service of guarding the forest. There can be no doubt, therefore, that it was reserved as a tract eminently suitable for royal hunting in the days of the later Saxon kings. The same Survey makes mention of the render of iron from Gloucestershire in the days of the Confessor, and there can be no reasonable doubt that this was iron from Dean. That great huntsman, William the Conqueror, made speedy acquaintance with this part of Gloucestershire, for it was when he was hunting here in the spring of 1069 that news was brought him of the serious rising which had broken out in Northumbria under the leadership of Waltheof. The Survey also shows that the Conqueror, here as elsewhere, enlarged

the area which had been reserved for sport by his Saxon predecessors. The later Norman kings further extended the boundaries of this forest, as much perhaps for the purposes of larger revenue from the minerals as from the attractions of a wider field for sport.

The story of the religious houses of the country contains various references to this forest. Thus, Henry I granted to the Abbey of Gloucester the tithes of the venison of Dean, whilst Henry II granted to the Abbey of Flaxley the tithes of the chestnuts, as well as the right to have two forges for the making of iron, the one stationary and the other itinerant. For the feeding of these forges the Abbey was allowed to fell two dry or leafless oak trees every week. It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that a forest in the old days did not necessarily represent an extensive woodland district. It merely signified a considerable extent of country reserved under special and severe laws for the hunting of royalty or of those specially licensed by the Crown. It was necessary that such a tract of country should have a certain amount of woodland or covert for the shelter of the deer or larger game; but it was equally necessary for the sustenance of the game, more especially the red-deer, that there should be at least a fair amount of open heath or moor, as well as grass-producing or pasture land. Certain forests, such as those of Exmoor and Dartmoor in the west, or of the High Peak in the midlands, never possessed more than a minimum of woodland; but others, such as Sherwood in Nottinghamshire and this Forest of Dean, were densely timbered over the greater part of their area in early days.

The keepership of this forest was for the most part held together with the custody of the Castle of St. Briavel, which is said to have been built by Milo, Earl of Hereford, in the days of Henry I. The Pipe Rolls of Henry II and his sons Richard and John contain continuous references to the mineral profits of the Forest of Dean, as well as to the considerable fines derived from

the enforcement of the forest laws. King John, whose restless conscience seems to have ever kept him in motion, frequently sojourned in this forest between the years 1207 and 1214, doubtlessly for the purposes of the chase. During his visits he divided his time between the Castle of St. Briavel and the Abbey of Flaxley. When staying at Marlborough, in the spring of 1215, he ordered Hugh de Nevill to allow William de Cliff to take four hinds (red-deer) in the Forest of Dean, and John de Monmouth and Walter de Lasey three each. In June of the following year the king appointed John de Monmouth as constable of the Castle of St. Briavel and as chief keeper of the forest; the verderers, foresters and other officials were ordered to submit themselves to him as the king's bailiff. In August of the same year, when the hunting of the hinds began, John instructed his newly appointed keeper to find everything that was necessary for Alberic, his huntsman: with twelve dogs, two horses, two grooms, and a berner, which was the title of the man in charge of the running hounds. John appears to have taken an exceptional interest in this forest, for on September 30th in the same year he wrote from Lincoln to the constable of St. Briavel ordering that cattle were only to be agisted on the borders or fringes of the forest, and more especially not in those parts which were frequented by the wild boars.

In comparing the references made in the Close Rolls and elsewhere to boar-hunting throughout England, it appears that these *porci silvestres* were in greater abundance throughout the thirteenth century in the Forest of Dean than in any other part of the kingdom, including the wilds of Yorkshire and Derbyshire. This form of hunting was sufficiently important for Henry III to grant in 1226 a tithe of the boars thus killed to the Abbey of Gloucester. In December of that year the king was hunting in person in this forest, and he ordered the keeper to hand over to the sheriff of Gloucestershire for

due conveyance of five great boars, fifteen hinds, and the rest of the results of this royal hunt. In the summer of 1227 the king was supplied with ten harts from this forest. Again, in July 1231, John, a royal huntsman, was despatched to Dean to take harts for the king's table, and was further ordered to despatch a hart without delay to Eleanor, the king's cousin. From these and an abundance of similar entries it is quite clear that the red-deer largely predominated in the great forest of Gloucestershire up to the close of the first half of the thirteenth century. But shortly before Edward I came to the throne the proportions between red- and fallow-deer were reversed, and the latter from that date onwards remained in a decisive majority.

It may here be mentioned that the forest proceedings of the reigns of both Henry III and Edward I afford varied evidence of the damage done in the winter to the deer by wolves.

The most intricate and constantly varying administration of the forest over several centuries was concerned with the iron forges of the Dean district. The necessity for limiting their numbers and supervising their operation arose from the quantity of fuel for keeping them in working order. Difficulties kept arising amongst the officials who were responsible for collecting the royal revenues as to whether the fees from iron-working were not counterbalanced by the continuous drain on the forest timber. On more than one occasion juries were asked to express their opinion upon this very question. Thus, in 1225, the jurors were asked to determine how much wood had to be furnished to keep a royal forge at work which was returned as worth £50 a year, and also to decide what relation the worth of the timber bore to the issues of the forge. Their verdict was that each week two, and sometimes three, oaks were required, and that the value of the timber much exceeded the profits and issues of the forge. The manor of Canteloupe was

one of those which had early chartered rights to an itinerant forge, and efforts were made from time to time to confine its consumption to windfallen wood or to leafless trees. This forge had been privileged in early days to receive an oak every fifteen days from the forest, but the nature of the tree had not been specifically stated in the original grant. In 1228 royal orders were issued that there were not to be more than three itinerant forges worked by the Crown servants. In the next year the Abbot of Flaxley was ordered to confine his itinerant forge to the borders of the forest, where it might be fed from the thorn thickets. The persistence, however, of this abbey in striving to maintain its old chartered rights to two oak-fed forges became so troublesome that in 1244 the Crown compromised the matter by the very considerable grant of 872 acres of woodland, on condition of the surrender of the charter. On the contrary, however, it must be recollected how greatly the Crown depended on the iron of this district, as is so conclusively shown by a variety of extracts from the Pipe Rolls and other documentary sources by Dr. Lewis and Mr. Vellacott in the account of the industries of this shire in the second volume of *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester* (1907). Horseshoes and rods of iron suitable for making nails for the king's ships came from Gloucestershire in the days of the Confessor. In the time of Henry II, pickaxes, iron hammers and levers were sent from Dean to Woodstock for the king's work; on other occasions in the same reign nails for ships and for horseshoes were despatched hence in large quantities, as well as arrows, axes, spades, and other implements useful in warfare for transmission across the seas, particularly into Ireland. Enormous quantities of Dean nails reached Winchester for the repair of the royal palaces towards the close of his reign, and in 1187–8 the exact sum of £8 16*s*. 3*d*. was paid for Gloucestershire iron for the use of the king's expedition in his

forthcoming journey to Jerusalem, "that crusade to which the broken warrior was vowed, but which he was never destined to accomplish." In the second year of his son and successor, Richard I, Gloucestershire made a still greater contribution towards a further crusade, for £33 18*s*. was paid for 50,000 horseshoes, and £100 for iron for the furnishing of the royal ships. The great national importance of the royal mines of Dean can also be clearly proved from State documents right into the fourteenth century.

The particular rights of the free-miners of the Forest of Dean is an elaborate and highly interesting story, but far too full and intricate for any satisfactory summary to be attempted in the short space at our disposal. The question is well treated in the article to which reference has just been made, as well as in the special books of Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Wirrall on this subject. It may, however, be here mentioned that in two cases the churches of the district afford evidence as to the equipment of a free-miner of mediæval days when following out his somewhat primitive form of occupation. His equipment is clearly depicted in the heraldic crest of a fifteenth-century brass in the Clearwell chapel of the church of Newland. "He wears a cap and carries a candlestick between his teeth. In his right hand is a small mattock, while a mine-hod of wood hangs at his back from a shoulder-strap fastened to his belt; his leathern breeches are tied with thongs below the knee. An interesting series of smiths' and miners' tools are also found represented on the font of Abinghall church and the western face of its tower." In the church of Newland there is also the somewhat mutilated stone effigy of Jenkyn Wirrall, forester-of-fee in Dean Forest, who died in 1457. It is one of the only two effigies of foresters which portray their old hunting costume; the other example occurs in the church of Skegby near Mansfield, where is the fourteenth-century effigy of an

unknown forest minister of Sherwood. Wirrall is represented in a peculiar kind of loose cap folded in plaits and knotted at the top. He wears a loose short frock, or jupon, with full sleeves, trunk hose and low boots. A small horn is suspended from the belt on the right side, whilst on the left side is slung by double straps a short hanger, or hunting sword. His feet appropriately rest on a brache, or hound.

The miners of Dean were considered a sturdy race, and so well skilled in their own craft that they were of special value as "sappers and miners," as well as repairers of engines of war. They were frequently summoned to the Scotch wars and also for service across the Channel during the fourteenth century. Notwithstanding, however, their bravery and skill in the field, the inhabitants of some parts of the forest had an evil reputation as wreckers and spoilers of vessels trading on the Severn. In 1344 a commission was issued to deal with those who had attacked a ship of Majorca, laden with wares, which had been driven ashore through a storm in the Forest of Dean; they had plundered the master and mariners of the ship, and had attacked those deputed to guard the goods, and this at a time "when the king had entered into termes with his adversaries on every side." The character of the miners and forest tenants had not improved by the days of Henry VI, for the men of Tewkesbury charged them, in a petition to Parliament in 1430, with attacking their vessels, laden with goods for Bristol, "with great ryot and strengthe in manner of warre," despoiling them of their merchandise and their wheat, malt and flour, sinking their boats, and drowning those who resisted them.

No account of Dean Forest, however brief, should escape making mention of its celebrated wood of sweet or Spanish chestnuts. There has been considerable discussion as to the claim of this tree (*Castanea vesca*) to be indigenous to England; the balance of opinion is

clearly in favour of its being a foreign importation of early date. The testimony of Dean Forest is distinctly on this side of the balance, for if the chestnut had been indigenous, there is no reason in the English climate and soil against its wide distribution, and the wood of Dean chestnuts would not have been regarded of such peculiar value. It may be useful here to remark that the quotation from Fitzstephen (*temp*. Henry II), originally given by Evelyn, and still cited occasionally by writers on arboriculture, as to great forests of chestnuts flourishing in his days near to London, turns out to be a fiction, for the particular passage makes no mention whatever of chestnuts. The idea, still current, and vainly attempted to be held by certain writers, that chestnut wood forms the roofs of many of our old churches, and even of Westminster Hall, is another pure fiction. Whenever old timber alleged to be chestnut has been tested by experts, it proves to be the close-grained oak of the sessiflora variety.

The tithe of the fruit of the Dean chestnut trees was granted to the Abbey of Flaxley between the years 1151 and 1154, showing that by that date these trees were well grown and flourishing to some considerable extent. It is also worth noting that the foundation charter states that the house was established *in valle Castiart*, in West Dean—a place-name probably derived from the unusual presence of a grove of chestnut trees.

At the pleas of this forest held in 1282 there were various serious presentments made against those who injured or carried off the chestnut trees. Ralph Abbenhall, the hereditary forester of the baily of Abbenhall, and his acting forester, John Pengard, charged Roger de Bosco with trespassing in the chestnut grove on the night of Christmas Eve with a hauling team of six oxen. Roger, however, swore that his visit was not after nightfall, and that a previous quarrel with Ralph had been the cause of this false charge, a version supported by

others of the forest ministers. Thereupon Ralph was convicted and amerced for a false indictment, though Roger had also to pay a fine of four shillings for his admitted daylight trespass. In another case an offender was actually caught at night with a team of six oxen and a load of chestnut timber; the team was forfeited to the Crown. A general charge was also made at this court against the forester-in-fee, Ralph Abbenhall, of allowing the chestnut grove to become much deteriorated since the last eyre, which had been held in 1270. The twelve knights who made the "regard," or close scrutiny of the forest, prior to the holding of the eyre of 1282, certified that they had found thirty-four stumps of chestnut trees which had recently been felled, and they further stated that two of these trees had actually been used by Roger de Clifford, himself a forest justice, for making tables.

Further action taken by the regarders at this eyre points to the temptation that caused forest tenants to engage in this lawless felling of valuable timber. The readiness of water-carriage by means of the rivers on each side of Dean Forest brought about a considerable illicit trade. Lists of boat-owners who used their vessels for this illegal exporting of timber were presented by the regarders, who estimated the damage done by the respective boats at sums varying from half a mark to forty shillings. These sums were exacted by the justices, together with an additional fine which averaged twelve pence.

We have a fair general knowledge of all the old rolls and proceedings affecting England's royal forests, and in only two other cases have references to sweet chestnuts been noted—the one in the New Forest in the time of Edward III, and the other in Sherwood Forest in the days of Henry VII. Certain evidence has also been found as to the presence of these trees in the Culbone woods near Porlock, Somerset, in the fifteenth century.

The timber of Dean Forest suffered much from the dissolution of the monasteries. The Abbeys of Flaxley and Tintern had, for the most part, jealously guarded the woods that they held within forest for several centuries from undue waste and deterioration. The exact opposite was the case with those to whom the monastic spoils of this district were assigned.

A popular tradition, cited by both Fuller and Evelyn, assigns to the Spaniards so full a knowledge of the value of Dean timber for England's navy that special instructions were given to the captains of the Armada to bring about, at all hazards, the devastation of these woods. It is, however, a most improbable tale, for there were many different valuable and extensive oak woods close to other rivers, such as the Trent and the Thames.

A survey of the trees of the Forest of Dean, taken in 1633, gives the number as 166,848, worth, on an average, a pound apiece; including very small trees and underwood, all the timber was valued at £177,681 6*s*. 8*d*. Here, as elsewhere, Charles I raised up many enemies by strenuous endeavours to revise the almost obsolete pleas of the forest, which had been in abeyance since the days of Henry VII. An eyre was held on the old lines at Gloucester Castle in 1634, when upwards of £100,000 was imposed in heavy fines on supposed breaches of forest customs. The shifts of the king to obtain money and the greed of speculating contractors caused sad destruction to the timber. A survey of 1638 showed that the trees were reduced to 105,577, of which 70,971 were oaks and 20,823 beeches. An entire sale was then made to Sir John Wintour of all woods, mines, quarries, etc., within the forest in consideration of £106,000, to be paid by instalments, and a fee-farm rent of £1950 12*s*. 8*d*. for ever. Licence was at the same time granted for the disafforesting and enclosure of 18,000 acres. The outbreak of the Civil War threw everything into lawless confusion, and the enclosures

were everywhere broken down. But vigorous measures were taken in 1649 by Cromwell and the Parliament for the preservation of the woods. In 1656 Wintour's grant was declared void, and the whole forest vested in the Protector for the use of the Commonwealth. At the restoration of the monarchy Wintour was reinstated, but the resistance to further enclosure was so strenuous that the matter was referred to a Commission. Their report found grievous reduction in the timber; but they were able to state that there still were 25,929 oaks and 4204 beeches, "as good timber as any in the world." Wintour was ordered to resign his patent, but received a fresh grant, wherein he covenanted to reserve 11,335 tons of timber for the navy. This new covenant was, however, flagrantly disregarded, and an Act of Parliament of 1668 was passed for the strict preserving of the remnant of the timber and for the establishment of a nursery for the trees of the future. The deer were never to exceed 800 head at any time.

It is foreign to the purpose of this brief essay to enter into the question of the administration of the Forest of Dean, on behalf of the Crown, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—an involved story interspersed with much official peculation and scandal. Since 1897 this forest has become the centre of scientific arboriculture under State management. The remains of timber of any age are comparatively trifling. The deer (exclusively fallow) were finally all destroyed or removed in 1850, to the number of about 150 bucks and 300 does.

THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER

By John Sawyer

Gloucester Cross has for more than eighteen centuries been the centre of a city. Four years after the Claudian invasion of Britain began, Ostorius planted a camp at Gloucester as a part of his scheme for the conquest of all the country south of the Severn and the Trent.[1] It was essential that he should secure both banks of the lower Severn before he could successfully carry on war against the Britons on the western side of the river, and Gloucester was a tribal centre, and well situated for strategic purposes. Twenty-five years later (in A.D. 76) Frontinus completed the conquest of the Silures; and as the Roman soldiers at Glevum (to give Gloucester its Roman name) had played a conspicuous part in the campaign, they were rewarded by the promotion of their headquarters to the status of a *colonia*, or city. In plan the camp was like Roman camps, two principal roads passing through it and intersecting at right angles. The four main streets of the city followed the same lines, and they do so to this day, the point of intersection being the well-known Cross.

The city which thus sprang into being covered an area of about forty-five acres. Modern excavation shows it to have been nearly square in shape, girt about by a wall six feet thick, pierced by four gates,[2] and sur-

[1] This is now the accepted reading of the well-known passage in the *Annals of Tacitus* about Ostorius and the Severn.

[2] The date of this wall is uncertain. Mr. John Bellows, who was the first to trace the course of the wall, and whose discoveries were highly valued by Dr. Hübner, held that it was built at the end of the first century, or the beginning of the second. Mr. St. Clair Baddeley thinks it was built during the civil wars in the third century.

rounded by a moat a hundred Roman feet wide. Beyond the walls, stretching on every side, was the territory granted to every Roman city which became the home of Briton and Roman alike as the arts of war gave place to the arts of peace. Through this territory ran the great road which, as to-day, connected Gloucester with the *colonia* of Corinium (Cirencester) to the south-east and the Roman camps at Venta Silurum (Caerwent) and Isca Silurum (Caerleon) in the west, and a trackway which probably preceded the lines of modern roads afforded communication with the north and south.

The government of the city was modelled upon that of Rome itself, and the Roman citizen residing there possessed all the privileges of residence in the imperial city itself. The majesty and beauty of its public buildings are attested by the broken columns, moulded bases and tessellated pavements which pick and spade have from time to time exposed. The luxurious habits of its leading citizens is proved by the frequent occurrence of the beautiful Samian ware, which in Roman times was in value akin to Worcester china to-day. The duration of the Roman occupation is proved by the coins which have been found, for they cover a period extending from the reign of Claudius to the end of the fourth century. That many relics of the ancient glory of the city remain undiscovered is certain. At the sites of three of the gateways, particularly the north and west, there is a sudden fall to the level of the roads beyond, due to the accumulation of soil within the walls during the Roman occupation.

The fate of Gloucester after the Romans had withdrawn from it is uncertain. When next it appears on the page of history it is as the head of a petty kingdom, whose king went forth with the Kings of Bath and Cirencester and met the West Saxon invader on the field of Dyrham. This was in A.D. 577. There is some evidence that in the meantime the city had probably not

become entirely desolate. As already noted, the four main streets still follow the lines of the principal ways of the Roman camp, a persistence of Roman castrametation which is almost without parallel in the kingdom. Another bit of evidence concerns the curious custom termed "Borough English," under which lands of a person who dies intestate pass to the youngest son. Whether the origin of the custom is to be found in the Roman law which made every son in a family liable to conscription except the youngest is an arguable question; but Gloucester is one of the few places in which the custom still obtains, and it is significant that its operation is confined within the limits of the Roman city.

The day of Dyrham, says Freeman, was one of the days which did most towards the making of England. It was also the day which did most towards the making of Gloucester of modern times. The King of Gloucester was one of the three kings who were slain on the battlefield of Dyrham, and his city, like Cirencester and Bath, was added to the West Saxon realm. The story of Gloucester during the next hundred years is shrouded in darkness. Part of the sub-kingdom of Hwicca, whose area embraced those portions of the present counties of Gloucester and Worcester which lie east of the Severn and a small area of the county of Warwick, its fate followed the fortune of the kingdom of Wessex. Fifty years after the battle of Dyrham it came under Northumbrian rule; a few years later it became a part of the kingdom of Mercia; on the defeat of Penda, it once more was attached to the Northumbrian kingdom; as a result of the Mercian revolt, it again became a Mercian possession, but governed by a Northumbrian prince; and in the early part of the ninth century it was again annexed to Wessex, whose ruler (Egbert) proclaimed himself King of the English people.

Almost exactly a hundred years after the battle of

Dyrham, Gloucester became the seat of a great religious foundation. For political reasons, Ethelred, King of Mercia, had placed Hwicca under the rule of Osric, a Northumbrian prince, who had embraced Christianity in his northern home. Within a year of taking up his duties he declared his intention to found monasteries, "in some places of men, in some of women, serving God, so that the light from on high may be more fully shed around"; and among the monasteries he founded was one at Gloucester (in 681) within whose walls he was afterwards buried. Nearly a hundred and fifty years later, Osric's house was rebuilt by Beornwulf, King of Mercia, and converted into a monastery for secular clergy. During the next two hundred years monachism fell to a low level; and when, early in the eleventh century, the revival, under the instance of St. Dunstan, reached Gloucester, Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, dissolved the secular fraternity, and (in 1022) replaced it by a community of Benedictine monks, whose head (Eadric) was the first of a line of abbots which ended with the dissolution of the monasteries five hundred years later. In 1058 the church attached to Beornwulf's monastery was rebuilt by Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, "a little further from the place where it had first stood, and nearer to the side of the city"; and that in turn gave place to the church which since the days of Henry VIII has been the cathedral of Gloucester.[1]

Meanwhile another religious house had arisen in Gloucester. In the first decade of the tenth century Ethelred and his renowned wife founded an Augustinian priory dedicated to St. Oswald, and had the bones of the saint removed there. It existed for more than two hundred years, and then gave place to a church which

[1] Micklethwaite and other authorities maintain that the crypt of the cathedral is a part of Aldred's church. Freeman and others hold that although the Norman work in the crypt is of two dates, there is none earlier than the days of Serlo, the first Norman abbot.

was demolished in the seventeenth century, but among its shattered fragments there is a small baluster which is probably a relic of the work of the Lady of the Mercians.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries other ecclesiastical corporations established homes in Gloucester. In 1136 Milo of Gloucester founded there an offshoot of an Augustinian Priory of Llanthony in Monmouthshire. In the early part of the thirteenth century Thomas, first Lord Berkeley, established a Franciscan house, and it received many benefactions from his successors. At about the same time the Dominicans built a house only a few yards distant, and in the reign of Henry III the Carmelites settled in the city. Of a quasi-monastic character were the Hospitals of St. Bartholomew, St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalene, whose revenues are now used for the maintenance of almspeople.

It is to its ecclesiastical importance in Norman and mediæval times that Gloucester chiefly owes its historic interest. When the kingdom of the Hwiccas was divided into shires—probably at the end of the tenth century—the southern shire was named after the city of Gloucester; when the ancient diocese of Worcester was divided—in the days of Henry VIII—the ecclesiastical divisions conformed to the civil, and the church of the dissolved Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester became the cathedral of the southern see. During the greater part of the eleventh century, when there was no one capital of the kingdom, the king held his Easter court at Winchester, his Pentecostal court at Westminster, and his Midwinter court at Gloucester. Edward the Confessor was at Gloucester when Count Eustace of Boulogne complained to him of the conduct of the English burghers at Dover, and Earl Godwine was ordered to punish them with fire and sword; and it was there that Godwine and other earls met the king and the threatened war was averted. The southernmost point of the Severn crossed by a

bridge, Gloucester[1] was a key to South Wales, and during the Welsh wars of the eleventh century it was the meeting-place alike of councils and of armies for fighting on the Welsh border; and to keep the Welsh in check William I built a castle at Gloucester to guard the bridge over the Severn, a second at Chepstow to guard the Wye, and a third at Bristol to guard the Avon. And it was after "very deep speech" with his Witan at a court which he held at Gloucester in 1085 that the Conqueror issued the order for Domesday Book.

In the annals of the reign of William Rufus and the early years of the reign of Henry I the prominence of Gloucester excels that of any other English city, and is only equalled by that of the French town of Le Mans. As in the reign of previous monarchs, it was a city of assemblies. Malcolm III, King of Scotland, was summoned there to do homage to William II, and returning home he lost his life while trying to avenge his wrongs by an invasion of Northumbria. While his Witan was sitting at Gloucester in 1093, William received the challenge from his brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, to arbitration or to war; and Archbishop Anselm refusing to grind his already suffering tenants to find money for the war which was declared, he was driven from the kingdom, and a struggle began between Crown and Church which lasted well into the reign of Henry I. In the last year of William's reign a portion of the new abbey church (now the cathedral) was dedicated. Only a few days later Foulchered, Abbot of Shrewsbury, preached in it, and, denouncing the wickedness among the high and mighty in the land, uttered the prophetic words: "The bow of wrath from on high is bent against the wicked, and the arrow swift to wound is drawn from the quiver." Next day the king received his death-wound from an arrow while hunting in the New Forest.

[1] It continued so until 1879, when the Severn railway bridge at Sharpness was opened.

River Severn, Gloucester.

In 1134 the body of Robert, Duke of Normandy, who, after an imprisonment for twenty-eight years, died in Cardiff Castle, was brought to Gloucester and buried in the chapter house of the abbey church.

Twice during the reigns of the Conqueror's sons the abbey church was the scene of the consecration of a primate. Lanfranc died two years after William Rufus ascended the throne, and for nearly four years the office remained vacant, and the revenues went into the royal treasury. Brought to Gloucester consequent on a sudden and serious illness, the king, in repentant mood, promised reparation, and from a crowd of ecclesiastics in his room he chose Anselm, Abbot of the Norman Abbey of Bec. Anselm earnestly pleaded that he was unfit for the office—it would, he said, be like yoking together an old, feeble sheep and an untamed wild bull; but the pastoral staff was forced into his unwilling hand, and he was carried rather than led to a neighbouring church. To a monk in his old abbey he afterwards wrote: "It would have been difficult to make out whether madmen were dragging along one in his senses, or sane men a madman, save that they were chanting, and I, pale with amazement and pain, looked more like one dead than alive." The second archiepiscopal consecration at Gloucester was in February 1123. Bishops, abbots, earls and thegns met Henry I in conference there, and for two days the parties failed to come to an agreement. The monks demanded that the new archbishop should be one of themselves; the bishops objected to be ruled by a man of a monkish order. The monks were supported by the earls and thegns, and in the end the choice fell upon an Augustinian canon, William of Corbeil, Prior of St. Osyth in Essex. Before the gathering dispersed, a papal legate, who had come to collect Peter's Pence, arrived, and told the king that a clerk had no right to be set over monks, but (according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) "that overcame Rome which

overcomes all the world, that is, gold and silver," and the *pallium* was bestowed upon William.

In the attempt made by the Empress Maud to eject Stephen from the throne of her father, she had the invaluable help of the constable of Gloucester Castle, Milo of Gloucester. Milo, it is true, had taken the oath of allegiance to Stephen, and helped him to repress a revolt led by Maud's half-brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester; but the oath was taken unwillingly, and when Maud landed in England, in 1139, he became her faithful supporter, and received her in his own castle at Gloucester. When the king was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, he was carried in fetters to Gloucester, and two months later Maud entered London to be crowned. Expelled before the ceremony took place, she fled to Gloucester, carried part of the way on a litter swung between horses; but though her cause was lost Milo remained faithful, and aided her with his purse, as he had previously aided her with his sword. Milo died in his own castle from an arrow-wound accidentally received in the Forest of Dean, and was buried in the chapter house of Llanthony Abbey, Gloucester, of which a gateway is now almost the only relic.

In the struggle for national freedom which lasted from the middle of the twelfth century to beyond the middle of the thirteenth Gloucester played a part. In 1163 Henry II held a court in the city to consider certain proposed changes in judicial procedure, and a few months later the changes were embodied in the Constitutions of Clarendon. During the reign of John the city was a centre of rebellion against the king for his failure to observe the Great Charter, and when the Bishop of Worcester (whose diocese included the present see of Gloucester) refused to publish the pope's interdict, the revenues of monks and clergy in the city were seized.

The coronation of John's successor on the throne, Henry III, took place in the abbey church at Gloucester,

a fillet of gold being placed on the boy-king's head, though three years later the ceremony was repeated at Westminster, to remove certain doubts as to its validity. The disaffection which began when Henry took the government into his own hands made Gloucester one of the centres of the king's activities, particularly in his suppression of revolts in South Wales. When Simon de Montfort came forth as the champion of the people, Gloucester Castle was twice taken by Simon's followers, and for a time the king himself and his son Edward were prisoners within its walls. In June 1265 Gloucester was captured by the prince after a two days' siege, and six weeks later Simon fell on the battlefield of Evesham.

During the twenty years of his life when he was king, Edward II was several times in Gloucester, dealing with the disaffection of the barons, led by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. But it was his death that brought him most closely associated with the city. When news reached Gloucester that he had been barbarously murdered in Berkeley Castle, Abbot Thokey fetched his body and interred it on the north side of the high altar of the abbey church. Seven years later his son erected over his tomb one of the most beautiful canopies in existence, and the oblations of pilgrims who for several years came to it from all parts of the kingdom were said to have been enough to rebuild the church. With funds from this rich treasury, abbots for fifty years were engaged in beautifying the building; and the first of them (Abbot Wygmore) was the inventor of the Perpendicular style of architecture, described by Freeman as "that specially English variety of the great Gothic family, which, whether for good or evil, effectually distinguishes the architecture of our land from that of every other." It used to be thought that the earliest Perpendicular work was at Winchester; Professor Willis has proved by written record and the work itself that the style began

in Gloucester—began, too, as early as the first half of the fourteenth century.

The beneficent legislation which marked the reign of

ST. MARY'S GATE.

Edward I began at a Parliament held in the city in 1278 with the famous Statutes of Gloucester, which curbed the power of the feudal barons. Thirteen years later another step in the same direction was taken at Gloucester by the passing of another *Quo Warranto* Act, which

concerned certain of the liberties claimed by earls, barons and others. The Statute of Labourers which followed the ravages of the Black Death was confirmed at a Parliament held in Gloucester in 1378, and orders given for its vigorous enforcement. The same Parliament saw the beginning of the struggle between the two Houses of Parliament for the control of the taxation of the country. The Commons refused to grant more money to Richard II without an account of how the money previously raised had been spent, and after much discussion by both Houses the king gave way. Another step in the same direction was taken at a Parliament held in Gloucester in 1407. An attempt by Henry IV to settle the expenditure of the country by a consultation with the Peers only was resented by the Commons as an invasion of its rights and liberties, and the king not only yielded, but also decided that neither House should make any report to him upon money grants until the two Houses had agreed. The meeting of the 1378 Parliament in Gloucester is graphically described in the abbey registers. The business ended, "every one went his own way rejoicing." The joy was brief; a year later came the first poll-tax, and two years afterwards the second poll-tax caused the Peasants' Revolt.

The battle of Tewkesbury, which was the beginning of the end of the Wars of the Roses, would never have been fought but for the action of the governor of Gloucester. Marching up the Severn Valley from Bristol, Margaret's army sought to cross the Severn at Gloucester, to join the force which the Earl of Pembroke had raised for her cause in South Wales. But Edward IV, whose army was taking a parallel course along the escarpment of the Cotswolds, despatched a message to the governor of Gloucester, bidding him to hold the city at all hazards, and to prevent the queen from crossing the river; and when the Lancastrian host reached the city they found the gates closed against

them. Wearied though they were from their march from Bristol with scarcely a rest, they pushed on to Tewkesbury, hoping to cross the Severn there next day. But Edward was close on their heels, forced a battle, and ere the day closed Margaret's son was slain, her army defeated, and the queen herself lost all for which she had lived.

Nearly two centuries later Gloucester was the turning-point in another dynastic struggle. Exactly a year after the great civil war between Charles I and the Parliament began, it looked as though an attack on London by the combined armies of the king would end the conflict. But his armies in the north and west were neither ready nor willing, and instead of advancing upon London Charles decided to besiege Gloucester. If he could take the city he would be able to use the Severn in sending supplies from Bristol to his garrisons at Worcester and Shrewsbury, and the greatest obstacle to a junction with his Welsh forces would be removed; and with his own army thus reinforced the capture of London would only be a question of time. Parliament was no less quick than the king to see the vital issues that were at stake. A proclamation by a London committee contained the solemn warning that "the city of London and posts adjacent cannot be long in safety if Gloucester be lost," and from nearly every London pulpit the citizens were exhorted "to go forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty." An army of 15,000 men was quickly raised, and on August 26, 1643, under the command of the Earl of Essex, it set out on its perilous enterprise.

A fortnight earlier Charles, with a portion of his army, arrived outside Gloucester and summoned the city to surrender. Within less than two hours he had his answer, brought by two citizens, described by Clarendon as having "lean, pale, sharp visages, indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenances merry,

RAIKES' HOUSE, SOUTHGATE STREET.

and the most cheerful hearts sad." Inhabitants, magistrates, officers and soldiers, ran the answer, conceived themselves wholly bound to obey the commands of His Majesty, "signified by both Houses of Parliament," and they were resolved, by God's help, to keep the city accordingly.

The garrison numbered only about 1500 men, they had but few cannon, and only fifty barrels of gunpowder. They had, however, the protection of a wall, and by pulling down about 240 houses outside the fortifications they left no shelter for the besiegers. A diary of the siege kept by the town clerk tells with quaint humour how little damage was done by the Royalist cannonade. A grenade fell near the south gate; "but a woman coming by with a payle of water threw the water thereon, and extinguished the phuse thereof." A cannon-ball "struck down a pigge, which our soldiers ate, and afterwards well jeered the enemy therewith." "One bullet of about 20lb. weight came through a chamber of the inn called the Crown, carried a bolster before it into the window, and there slept upon it." One night "fiery melting hot bullets" fell into houses and stables, "but by God's providence did no hurt at all."

When the siege had lasted for three weeks the citizens were in dire straits. The soldiers were worn out, their stock of powder was nearly gone, and there were signs that the besiegers were preparing for a general attack, which there was little strength to resist. September 5 was appointed as a day for fasting and prayer. Between the services the watchmen saw an unusual stir in the king's camp, and an hour or so later the whole army was in full retreat. The cause was soon seen. The relieving force under Essex was near, and the king was afraid to meet it. When, a year later, the south gate was rebuilt, two inscriptions were put upon it: "A city assailed by man, but saved by God"; and "Ever

PHARMACY, WESTGATE STREET.

remember the 5th of September, 1643. Give God the glory."

The records of the corporation of Gloucester (which have been printed by the Historical MSS. Commission) consist chiefly of charters of incorporation. The earliest was granted by Henry II, who extended to the burgesses "the same customs and liberties for toll and other things as the cities of London and Winchester enjoyed in the time of Henry I." This was confirmed and extended by John and Henry III, and was still further extended by Edward III, "out of respect to his father being buried in the abbey church." Up to the time of Henry VI the charters were directed to "all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, barons, viscounts and others," but later charters were directed generally "to all to whom these presents shall come." The charter of incorporation, which placed the government of the city in the hands of a mayor, two sheriffs and a common council elected by the burgesses, was granted by Richard III, who was Duke of Gloucester. In 1672 Charles II granted the city a new charter, which remained in force until superseded by the Municipal Corporations Act. By an Act passed in the reign of Queen Anne Gloucester was one of the county towns empowered to elect guardians of the poor, an experiment which foreshadowed the Poor Law Act of 1834.

THE CITY OF BRISTOL

By Alfred Harvey

The City and County of Bristol is rather in Gloucestershire than of it, still a volume of Memorials of Old Gloucestershire will scarcely be considered complete without some account of its largest town.

The origin of Bristol is singularly obscure, and nothing is known of its earliest history. On the heights overlooking the Avon Gorge, where the Clifton Suspension Bridge now spans the river, were three British fortresses, two of which still exist, one on either side of the gorge; and many evidences have been found of an early civilization in the Avon Valley below the town. At Sea Mills, below the gorge, the Romans fortified an enclosure of considerable size, which seems to have been a permanent settlement and a small port; and remains have recently been found of a large villa at the suburb of Brislington above the city, but there is no evidence that Bristol was a Roman town—indeed, all the evidence points the other way. As to the date when the inhabitants of Sea Mills deserted their encampment and betook themselves to the safer and more convenient position above the gorge history is silent, and equally silent about the early development and struggles of the growing town.

The first definite information we possess about the town comes, curiously enough, from abroad, for in the museum at Stockholm there is a silver penny of Ethelred II, having on the obverse the king's head, with his name and titles, and on the reverse a cross, with the inscription, Ælfwerd on Bric, signifying that it was

minted at Bristol by Ælfwerd the moneyer. From this time onward coins of the Bristol mint are fairly numerous, so that we may conclude that at the beginning of the eleventh century Bristol had become a town of sufficient importance to possess a mint, and, further, that it had only recently attained that dignity. The only other known mention of Bristol before the Norman Conquest occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, where it is incidentally referred to under the year 1052, and it seems that, shut off as it was from the rest of the country by high hills and almost impassable forests, it went its own way, little concerned in the struggles which tore the rest of the country, and developed in the one way open to it, that is, by way of the sea, and that at the time of the Conquest it had already become one of the chief trading ports of the kingdom.

As a mediæval port its situation gave it great advantages; placed upon a long, narrow peninsula between the tidal waters of the Avon and the Frome, not high, but still sufficiently elevated for health and security, the latter advantage aided by its almost insular position, its two long river frontages afforded ample space for berthing the small vessels of the time; while its distance from the sea, with several miles of difficult navigation, which has handicapped it so severely in modern times in its struggle to preserve its commercial importance, was then a distinct advantage, providing shelter from storm and safety from piratical invasion. At the time of the Conquest the town was already surrounded with a wall or mound, and possessed at least two, and probably more, churches. The area enclosed only contained about twenty-one acres, the tiny nucleus of a city of more square miles.

From this time forward the history of Bristol resembles that of the other mercantile towns: at first purely feudal, there followed a period of struggle on the part of the townsfolk to rid themselves of the irritating and oppres-

sive feudal restrictions and to gain civic and commercial freedom. This struggle was scarcely over—and complete success came earlier in Bristol than in most provincial towns—than civic control passed, not without a spirited contest, from the hands of the commonalty to those of a narrow and selfish oligarchy composed of a few wealthy families, and we have for several hundred years the spectacle of a great, wealthy, and growing city under the government, or misgovernment, of a close, self-elected corporation, utterly out of touch with the mass of the population; a condition of things which lasted almost down to our own time. This, with occasional incursions into the wider history of the nation, has been the story of Bristol.

William I treated Bristol leniently; Geoffrey, the warlike Bishop of Coutances, was appointed constable, but the actual administration of the town was entrusted to a citizen, one Harding, founder of a great family which still flourishes in the neighbourhood, as *prepositus*, or provost. The chief difference between this office and that of the more modern mayor appears to have been that he was appointed by the Crown, and not by his fellow-townsmen. Bishop Geoffrey commenced to build a castle astride the narrow isthmus between the Frome and the Avon which united the town site with the mainland, and either he or his successor erected a wall of stone on the site of the earlier rampart; a small portion of this wall may still be seen. On the fall of the Bishop of Coutances, who supported the claim of Robert, Duke of Normandy, to the throne, William Rufus entrusted the lordship of Bristol to Robert Fitz-Hamo, the conqueror of South Wales. At Fitz-Hamo's death it passed, with the hand of his daughter Mabel, to Robert of Caen, the natural son of Henry I, who then became Earl of Gloucester. Earl Robert, during the more peaceful years of his rule, completed the castle of his predecessors on an extended plan, adding a keep which is said to

have rivalled the great tower of Rochester. He also founded a priory for Benedictine monks on the outskirts of the town, whose nave remains as the parish church of St. James. Under the enlightened rule of this greatest Englishman of his day Bristol flourished exceedingly; from him it received the first of the charters of its enfranchisement; he enclosed its northern suburb with a wall, thereby nearly doubling the defensible area.

It was chiefly owing to the uninterrupted possession of Bristol, in the long war waged between King Stephen and the Empress Maud, by her half-brother and champion that the empress and her son were enabled to maintain the strife, and finally to triumph. For several years the town formed a sort of metropolis for that half of the country which owned the rule of the empress, and it was here that she kept her court. Here, during the brief period of her ascendancy after the battle of Lincoln, King Stephen was detained a prisoner, and here, too, it seems that her son, afterwards Henry II, received his early education. Earl Robert died long before Henry came to the throne, but that king showed his gratitude to Bristol by giving its leading citizen, Robert Fitzharding, to whom he had been much indebted, the castle and lordship of Berkeley, and by conferring its first royal charter upon the town. Some years later Bristol Castle passed back to the Crown through the marriage of King Henry's son John with the Earl of Gloucester's granddaughter. King John proved a good friend to Bristol, granting the townsmen a charter singularly liberal for the time. By its terms the burgesses obtained, among other privileges, their own local courts, freedom from tolls, exemption from the obligation to grind their corn at the lord's mill, and liberty of marriage for themselves, their sons and daughters and widows, without licence of their lords. This charter, which was confirmed by his successors, was the foundation of the freedom of the town.

The men of Bristol were not ungrateful: they adhered to John's cause in the struggles which darkened his last years, and at his death his young son, Henry III, took refuge among them. It was on this occasion that they obtained the much-coveted privilege of electing their own chief magistrate, and in 1216 Adam le Page was elected mayor of Bristol—the first of a line which continued unbroken to the year 1897, when the city was promoted to the dignity of a Lord Mayoralty.

The great prosperity of the town at this time is evidenced by the inception and successful conclusion of a series of engineering works which even at the present day would be no inconsiderable achievement, and at the time of their execution were unrivalled. The first work was an improvement of the harbour, which seems to have been suggested by the then Abbot of Bristol, William Bradeston. A trench, a hundred and twenty feet in breadth, eighteen in depth and nearly half-a-mile long, was constructed from a point on the course of the river Frome where it curved round to fall into the Avon just below the bridge, to join the main stream lower down. By this means the harbour accommodation was doubled, and when the old bed of the Frome was filled in a considerable area was added to the town. The work was begun in 1240, in the mayoralty of Richard Aylward, and was completed in 1247, under the same mayor. The total cost was £5000, the labour being provided by the townsmen and the men of Redcliffe, a hitherto independent township beyond the river, and it was so completely successful that no further improvement was needed for several hundred years.

When the harbour works were finished the citizens immediately took steps to replace their wooden bridge by one of stone. To do this they first constructed a new trench on the south side of the Avon, and diverted the river temporarily into this new course by means of dams. Three great piers were then erected in the bed of the

stream, and a stone bridge of four arches constructed; this resembled London Bridge in being adorned with a chapel on one of its piers, and in being, at a later period, covered with houses. If we may credit old pictures, this bridge was a very picturesque object, but it was narrow and inconvenient, and as it became insufficient for the growing traffic it was replaced by the present stone bridge in 1760. When the Avon was restored to its old channel the new trench was utilized for the defences of the enlarged town; a strong and lofty wall was built on its inner bank, and the canal became the town ditch. By these means the enclosed town reached the very respectable area of more than half-a-mile, and the separate township on the Somerset side of the Avon became to all intent part of the city, though it was not finally incorporated with it till another century had lapsed.

Mention has been made of the Abbot of Bristol, and it is necessary here to call attention to the great development of monastic and collegiate establishments which took place in the century after the foundation of St. James's Priory by Robert, Earl of Gloucester. The first and greatest was the Abbey of St. Augustine, now the cathedral, which was begun in 1142 by Robert Fitzharding, and most of the others owed their origin to the wealth and piety of his family; these are more fully treated in another chapter, and it is only necessary here to state that within a century the whole of the steep heights which rise in an amphitheatre round the northern side of the city were occupied by a chain of religious houses, eight in number, standing in gardens and orchards, and adding much to the beauty of the mediæval town.

The quiet annals of the town were interrupted in the reign of Edward II by that curious outbreak known as the "Great Insurrection," when, for the space of four years, it was in open rebellion, governing itself, and

apparently governing itself well, as an independent city, with an utter disregard of the royal authority. The trouble arose out of the contest for municipal power which was going on in all the commercial towns between the commonalty and the local aristocracy. In Bristol

NORMAN GATEWAY, COLLEGE GREEN.

the whole power of local self-government had passed into the hands of a few wealthy families, and the town was ruled by a self-appointed committee, known from their number as "the fourteen," who ruled in alliance with the then constable of the castle, Lord Badlesmere, the same nobleman who afterwards lost his head in the rebellion which resulted in the deposition of Edward II. The actual cause of the outbreak was the transfer of

the purse of the town from the municipal body to the constable. The townsfolk refused to pay taxes to the constable, and elected their leader, John Taverner, an influential man who had been twice mayor and had represented the town in Parliament, as their mayor, refusing to allow Badlesmere or his agents to enter the town. The fourteen were expelled and their goods confiscated. The king replied by depriving the town of its liberties and privileges, but he was set at defiance, and for four years Taverner governed the city absolutely, collecting all dues and taxes, and fortifying the town by the erection of a wall cutting off the castle from its enceinte. In 1314, two years after the beginning of the insurrection, an armed force, it is said, of 20,000 men was sent to quell the rebellious citizens; but it was soon drawn off on account of the Scottish war, and it was not till two years later that the town was besieged in force, and the insurrection put down. The result may be considered a temporary victory for the commonalty, for, though Taverner was banished and the town fined 4000 marks, its liberties were restored and the fourteen vanished; but the tendency of the time was too strong, and authority soon again passed into the hands of the wealthy families, who managed to retain it until the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act five centuries later.

Bristol had its share in the civil war which terminated the reign of Edward II; the townsfolk were opposed to the king, and compelled the governor of the castle, the elder De Spenser, to surrender, and witnessed his execution as a traitor. It was here that the council was held which appointed Edward, Prince of Wales, regent of the kingdom; and the unfortunate king was a prisoner in the castle probably more than once in the wanderings which preceded his murder at the neighbouring Berkeley Castle.

The next reign was perhaps the most important epoch

View of Bristol Harbour, 1782.

in the history of Bristol, in that in the year 1373 it received the great charter of its freedom and independence—perhaps the most liberal charter up to that time granted to any English provincial town. Up to that date the city was for county purposes as regards the portion north of the Avon in Gloucestershire, and for the part south of the river in Somerset, and the citizens had to attend for legal business and county affairs at Gloucester and Ilchester respectively, each town being more than thirty miles away, and then, as indeed Ilchester is now, very difficult of access. The mayor and commonalty had made representation to the king of the inconvenience of this and the loss of time and money it involved, and in answer to their prayer, in consideration of their good behaviour and their good services to the State, not to mention the sum of 600 marks paid into the royal treasury, they received a charter separating the town, with its precincts and suburbs, from the counties of Somerset and Gloucester and creating it a county of itself, to be known as the county of Bristol, with all the honours and privileges accruing from the distinction. A boundary commission was appointed, which assigned to the new county the whole of the city and its suburbs on both sides of the river, with the exception of the castle, which remained a royal possession. In addition —and this marks the importance of the port—it assigned to the town the control of the whole lower Avon, with both its banks, and the estuary of the Severn as far as the islands of Steep Holme and Flat Holme, which lie between Weston-super-Mare and Cardiff.

The charter further provided for the creation of a town council, and—what was perhaps looked on as the greatest honour of all—it was provided that the mayor should in future take the oaths before his predecessor in office, and not, as heretofore, before the constable of the castle, thus emphasizing the complete emancipation of the town from feudal control.

Bristol was the first English town to receive the dignity of being borough and county, the city of York not being formed into a county till twenty years later, so that the boast of its townsmen that theirs was the second city in the kingdom may be considered to be justified.

At this important epoch in its history the town had probably from twelve to twenty thousand inhabitants, and occupied a position on both sides of the Avon, the northern portion being somewhat larger and far more important than the southern. It was surrounded, except where the castles took part in the defence, by a double line of wall, and probably both lines still remained fairly perfect, though the inner had already lost its reason of existence. At the east end, on the narrow neck which formed the only landward approach to the old town, the great castle, with its prominent keep, dominated the position. Within the inner wall two main streets crossed at right angles, and at their intersection was erected, at the time of which we are speaking, the graceful cross which now adorns the grounds of Stour-head, the one which at present stands in College Green being a copy. A narrow lane ran round just within the line of wall, and in these streets and some short cross streets and alleys were crowded together the mass of the inhabitants, with numerous churches, halls of guilds and other buildings. The part of the town within the later wall was probably less thickly inhabited, and, at least as regards the portion south of the Avon, chiefly by the poorer classes. Yet even at this early date there was a large extra-mural population. The parish of SS. Philip and James, beyond the castle, had long been populous, and in 1374, the year after the charter was granted, the conventual church of St. James, on the north of the city beyond the Frome, was made parochial, showing that a suburb had grown up around it; while still farther north another parish, that of St. Michael, was formed. On

the south side the great church of St. Mary Redcliffe, whose rebuilding had just begun on a more magnificent scale, stood outside the walls.

CARVED STATUE OF BRISTOL GIANT, ST. JOHN'S GATEWAY.

Of the Bristol of this date something has descended to our time. Two vaulted crypt-like halls and some minor fragments still represent the once great and

famous castle, and a small portion of the earlier wall remains, with a postern now known as St. John's Arch, but formerly called the Blind Gate. The later walls, curiously enough, have perished far more utterly. The piety and building activity of the succeeding century entirely changed the aspect of the parish churches, but that of All Saints still preserves part of its Norman nave; and there are portions of those of St. Peter, SS. Philip and James, St. Stephen and the Temple, which were already erected at the period of which we are speaking, while the magnificent steeple of St. Mary Redcliffe was a quite recent feature in the landscape. The present eastern limb of the Abbey Church stood as we now see it; it had been rebuilt at the beginning of the fourteenth century, but Fitzharding's Norman nave was still standing, with his conventual buildings, a good deal of which has survived. The nave, too, of Earl Robert's minster of St. James still stands much as he left it, and in the same neighbourhood is the charming thirteenth-century entrance of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The chapel of Gaunt's Hospital, known as the Lord Mayor's Chapel, still faces the abbey across the open space of College Green, and of the numerous friaries something yet exists of the house of the Franciscans and much of that of the Dominicans. Of the dwelling-places of the townsmen, for obvious reasons, little remains, but in Small Street there is a hall of late Norman date, now occupied by the Law Library, which is the finest example of a large Norman town house existing in this country.

With the gain of complete independence there opened a new era for Bristol, an era of commercial prosperity and quiet domestic development which the wars which distracted the country during the fifteenth century did nothing to hinder, even if they did not actually increase it. This prosperity was twofold, both mercantile and industrial; the chief manufactures were the weaving of

St. John's on the Wall.

cloth, of which it was one of the chief seats, soap-making and tanning; the first-named industry has long left the town for the north, but the other two are still largely

GATE OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD.

carried on. The shipping trade was as important as the manufacturing, and Bristol vessels were not only engaged in the coasting and the Irish trades, of which last the town's geographical position gave it almost a mono-

poly, but were found in the ports of Spain, the Baltic and even the Levant. The chief imports were wines from Spain, hides and skins, metals and foodstuffs; and the exports cloth and leather, with some glass and cutlery; much fish was landed and salted down for inland consumption.

The story of Bristol becomes now the history of its commercial aristocracy. The best known of its members was William Canynges the younger, who was five times mayor and a great benefactor to his native town. He is said to have possessed a fleet of nine large ships, trading as far as Iceland and Finmark, and to have had in his employ eight hundred seamen. He was a great builder, keeping in constant employment a hundred masons and carpenters; and he took part in the greater politics of the country. Late in life he took Orders, and, dying Dean of Westbury College, was buried in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, towards whose completion he had largely contributed. But Canynges was only one among many: the names of France, Young, Strange, Oliver, Norton, Sturmy, Vyal and Mede shone in their day with as much lustre. These men were all filled with a keen civic sport; they adorned the town with a group of noble mansions, and in their lifetime and by will provided for the rebuilding and beautifying of their parish churches; and probably one and all contributed to a work which was too great for a single parish—the re-edifying of the great church of St. Mary. Walter Frampton rebuilt on a new site the picturesque church of St. John; John Shipward added the lofty and ornate tower to St. Stephen's which is so prominent a feature in the city; and William Canynges the elder, who was undoubtedly a great benefactor to his parish church of St. Thomas, generally receives the credit of commencing the new work on St. Mary's, which it is more certain that his better-known grandson completed. Nor were they unmindful of the poor: Frampton provided for the blind

and the lame, and left money for dowries for poor maidens, and John Barstaple and John Foster each built and endowed large almshouses. Education was not forgotten, for before the Reformation two brothers, Robert and Nicholas Thorne, purchased the disused hospital of St. Bartholomew, and converted it into a grammar school.

There were two men living in Bristol during the latter half of the fifteenth century who took the trouble to commit to paper things that interested them: Robert Ricart, who filled an office analogous to that of town clerk, jotted down in his Mayor's Calendar not only the chief events of the passing years, but also a wealth of minute information about the men and customs of his time and town; and William Worcester, the father of English topography, devoted a large section of his *Itinerary* to a description of Bristol. Worcester, who was a native of Bristol, spent his active life in the service of Sir John Fastolf on the other side of the country, but returned to spend his old age in cultivating his garden in his native town. He seems to have employed his leisure in making a methodical perambulation, measuring by paces the length of every street, lane and alley; noting down the dimensions of every church and chapel, with some all too scanty notes on the buildings, and the underground vaults wherein merchandise was stored. Incidentally he threw in a good deal of information about the trade of the town and about its people; and by the help of these two writers we are able to form a more exact idea of mediæval Bristol than of any other English town in the Middle Ages.

With the discovery of America a spirit of adventure arose which led ultimately to a great increase in the city's prosperity. It was from Bristol and with a Bristol crew that John Cabot set out in 1497 on the memorable voyage which resulted in the discovery of the mainland of America; and a little later Captain Thomas James

started from the same port to make one of the earliest attempts to find the North-West passage, and immortalized himself by the discovery of James Bay. Another Bristol worthy who made the same attempt was Martin Pring, who was afterwards general to the East Indies. Early in the seventeenth century a Bristol merchant, Robert Aldworth, fitted out an expedition for the colonization of Newfoundland; and in 1708 Captain Woodes Rogers, who was accompanied by the famous navigator, Dampier, and the well-known physician, Dr. Dover, sailing with two privateers, was successful in circumnavigating the globe. He brought back with him Alexander Selkirk, who had been living alone on the island of Juan Fernandez, and is believed to be the prototype of Robinson Crusoe.

The colonization of the West Indies brought a new industry to Bristol: as early as 1651 Evelyn records that he first saw sugar refined and cast into loaves at Bristol, and for two centuries sugar-refining became the chief manufacture of the place. It is necessary to mention another very lucrative but less creditable trade which had its chief seat here: as early as the time of the Norman conquest Bristol had earned an unenviable notoriety by the export of kidnapped children and young women as slaves to Ireland. This was suppressed by the efforts of the saintly Bishop Wulfstan; but it arose again in a different form at least as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Bristol ships used to call on the outward voyage to the West Indies at the Guinea coast to take in a cargo of negroes for sale to the planters, and it is said that the slaves sent out were not only black ones: if the notorious Judge Jeffreys is to be believed, it was a practice of the mayor and magistrates to ship off petty criminals to work on their own plantations in a condition which was practically one of slavery. The final suppression of the trade belongs rather to a chapter on modern Bristol history.

To return to the general history of the town: in the year 1542 the creation of the Bishopric of Bristol, which is more fully dealt with in another chapter, raised it to the rank and dignity of a city. In the following century, during the great civil war, the city was twice besieged and twice taken by assault, once by each party in turn. Its capture by the Royalist party was one of the king's most conspicuous successes, and was for a time looked upon as a turning-point in the war. The two sieges were curiously alike in their details: the city itself, with its castle, was untenable, standing as it did in a hollow completely commanded by the heights around, and both defending commanders relied on a fortified line drawn along the northern height. Both found the lines too extensive for the forces at their command, and both were unjustly accused of cowardice for surrendering. At the first siege Prince Rupert commanded the attacking force, while Admiral Blake led the defence at one of the forts; and at the second both Cromwell and Fairfax were present with the besiegers, Prince Rupert on this occasion being in command within the walls. The city suffered very much from disease and famine during the sieges, but, as usual, soon recovered.

The beginning of the eighteenth century was a period of great prosperity, and at this time the city burst its bounds and expanded into the surrounding country, brick and stone being first generally used in building construction, in place of the picturesque timber framing which had been previously almost universal. The civic fathers seem to have been in advance, if not of their own age, at least of ours, in their ideas of town planning, and the new town was formally laid out in broad streets and spacious squares, of which Queen Square, St. James's Square and Portland Square are only fine examples out of many. At this period Edward Colston, Bristol's greatest benefactor, and since his death in 1721 her uncanonized patron saint, was at the height of his

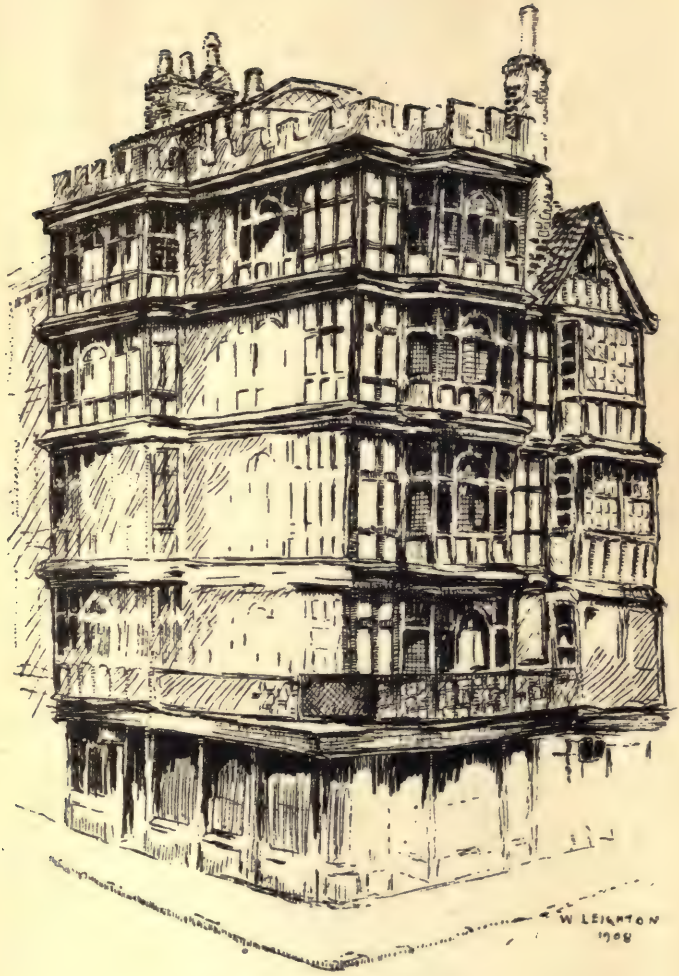
beneficent activity. His actual gifts are said to have exceeded in money value £100,000, but the time and labour which he devoted to foundations, and his noble example and character, were of even more value to his city.

CORBEL OF ST. PETER'S HOSPITAL.

Royal visits and pageants form a large item in the history of provincial towns, but here they have been so frequent that space does not allow more than a bare mention. Visits from other distinguished persons have been very numerous, and some of these have left valuable comments on the town, generally very complimentary;

among these are Evelyn, Pepys, Defoe, Pope, Wesley and, in later days, William Cobbett. Dr. Johnson came here for the purpose of inquiring on the spot into the Chatterton legend, and Boswell has placed on record a sufficiently amusing account of the visit. This unfortunate boy, Chatterton, has become, not only by his genius, but perhaps more by his sad fate, the best known of the many writers who have been associated by birth or residence with the place.

Relics of this second period of the city's history are naturally more frequently met with than those of the more remote. To a date before the Reformation belongs much of most of the churches, notably St. Mary Redcliffe, St. John, St. Stephen and the Temple. The hall of Canynges's great mansion may still be seen between Redcliffe Street and the river, and part of the Norton mansion in the later St. Peter's Hospital; and there are still several portions of smaller houses of the same date. The imposing edifice known as the Dutch House, timbered high at the very centre of the city, is only one among many of the examples of Elizabethan or Jacobean domestic art; another is the Red Lodge in Park Row, with its beautiful interior, built in 1590 on part of the grounds of the Carmelite monastery; and the house known as St. Peter's Hospital, built by that Robert Aldworth whose name has already been mentioned in connection with the colonization of Newfoundland, is one of the most striking of the more ornate half-timber houses of England. To the prosperous years of the eighteenth century belong two or three churches and much church adornment: the fine Exchange, one of the best works of Wood of Bath, the Old Library and the Assembly Rooms, and the halls of several of the city companies, including that of the Society of Merchant Venturers, a body which, since it received its charter far back in the days of Edward VI, has played almost as important a part in the city's history as the corpora-



OLD DUTCH HOUSE, BRISTOL.

tion itself, and which is still full of life and vigour, though its activities have entirely changed their direction since it was formed as a simple trading company. The houses of this period are still very numerous, from the stately stone mansions of the rich and the dignified and sober brick houses of the well-to-do, with their fine interior woodwork, to the streets occupied by the middle classes and the picturesque lanes of the poor; St. James Square and Orchard Street may be signalled out as unchanged examples of town architecture of the period. Some of the various almshouses, too, notably Colston's, the Merchants' and the Merchant Taylors', form very pleasing and picturesque relics of Old Bristol.

Apart from its buildings, many vestiges of the second half of Bristol's history are still to be seen, notably at the Council House, where, in addition to their records and other valuable manuscripts, the corporation possess an admirable gallery of portraits and a collection, almost unrivalled, of civic plate and insignia. The city museum, too, in its Bristol Room possesses many records of the vanished past, including a valuable collection of the Bristol potter's art—an industry which has long left the town, but which should not be forgotten—and a unique case of Chatterton manuscripts and other relics of the poet. In its Architectural Room is the nucleus of a collection of objects of interest and beauty from the fast vanishing buildings of the old city, from the fourteenth century onward. The churches, though they have no pre-Reformation plate, possess a great wealth of examples of almost all subsequent date, and they are also very rich in examples of metal-work, both in iron and brass, including the priceless chandelier of latten of fourteenth-century work at the Temple, and the equally precious set of Romanesque candlesticks at St. Thomas's. Many private citizens, also, have interesting collections illustrative of bygone Bristol.

House in Market Place.

Of the city's subsequent history one event of supreme importance, the Reform Riots, and the causes which led to them, is considered at length in another part of this volume, and everything later than that era belongs to modern Bristol rather than to Old Gloucestershire.

MONEY EXCHANGING TABLE, EXCHANGE, BRISTOL.

BERKELEY CASTLE

By Rev. Canon Bazeley, M.A.

Gloucestershire is fortunate in possessing a Norman baronial castle which, with the exception of a short interval during which it was alienated to the Tudor kings, has been occupied by the same family for upwards of 750 years. But this castle was not the first stronghold constructed on this site, for previously to 1154 there was a fortified mound and base court where dwelt the tenant of the king's manor of Berkeley.

Moreover, the position occupied by the town and castle was of such strategical importance that in all probability it was defended by earthworks of some kind for many centuries before the Norman Conquest.

It would seem that the lower valley of the Severn has been gradually rising, and in consequence of this its lesser waterways have been decreasing in width and depth. Of course, also, artificial drainage has prevented the accumulation of stagnant water. Many districts, such as Frampton, for example, which were formerly subject to ague and malarial fever, are now perfectly healthy.

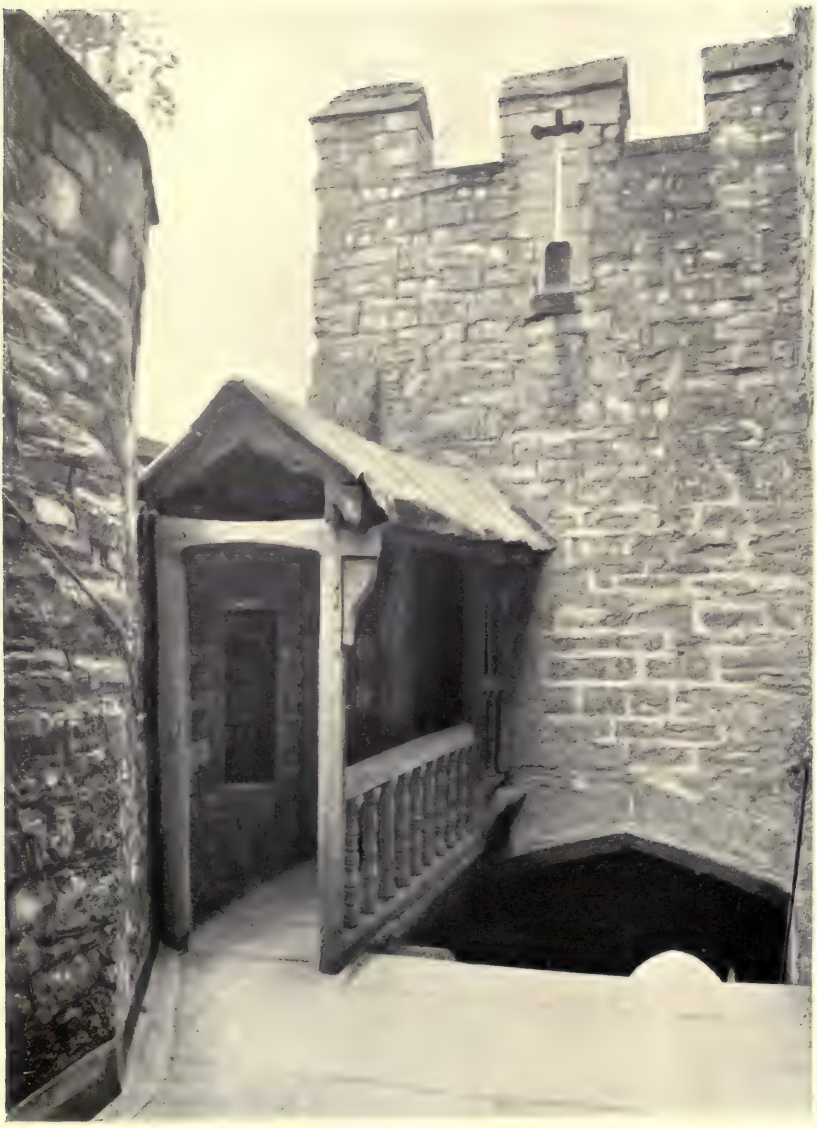
On the summit of the Cotswold Hills, which dominate the Severn vale throughout the whole length of Gloucestershire from south-west to north-east, there are in all directions traces of prehistoric people, who in turns were conquerors and conquered; but the habitation by man of the low-lying land must be comparatively recent. Even within the limits of history it is easy to picture to one's mind a time when our forefathers came down from the hills to hunt the wild beasts and birds which frequented the marshes, and returned to

their homes before nightfall to escape from the deadly miasma which would then be spreading over the vale.

At that time the waters of the Severn at high tide flowed up the many pills (British *pwll*) through which its tributaries at other times meandered towards the sea. Many of these pills, which became in turn highways for Gaelic, Scot, Saxon and Danish invaders, have now ceased to be navigable.

A stream, called the Little Avon, which rises in the Cotswolds near North Nibley, flows into the Berkeley pill; and Smyth, the Jacobean historian of the Berkeley family, tells us that Thomas, tenth Lord Berkeley, 1368–1417, had a barge-house near his castle.

Berkeley was certainly a place of some importance during the Roman occupation of Britain, for coins, tiles, sculptured stones and other relics of the empire have been found in and near the town. The form of the town—four streets meeting in a centre—is adduced by Fosbroke as evidence of its origin as a Roman camp. A branch of the Roman or British road called Acman Street, which has been traced from Cirencester to Symondshall, probably passed through Berkeley on its way to the ford across the Severn opposite Lydney. At Ryeham Fields, near Newport, on the Ridgeway, a couple of miles south-east of Berkeley, is an ancient burial-ground, where many human skeletons have been found, together with coins, pottery and bones of domestic animals. Half-a-mile from the castle are some earthworks which have retained their ancient name of Wallgarstone (*Wealas gaer*, the "Welshmen's Castle"). These were probably constructed by the Romano-British inhabitants of Berkeley late in the fourth century to prevent the Irish pirates who at that time invaded the Bristol Channel from penetrating the upper reaches of the Avon. Later on the Danes seized a little promontory on the left bank of the Severn, and fortified it as a place of safety for their women and children, whilst they



ENTRANCE TO THE CHAMBER WHERE EDWARD II WAS MURDERED,
BERKELEY CASTLE.

harried the Saxon farms of the Berkeley manors. To this stronghold they gave the Scandinavian name of Nesse.

But the pre-Norman history of Berkeley is religious rather than military. Here, or at Oldminster hard by, was founded one of the Hwiccan monasteries of which Bath, Gloucester, Westbury, Deerhurst, Winchcombe and Pershore were other notable examples. The importance of the convent at Berkeley—the Saxon charters speak of it as a *family*—is shown by the fact that two of its abbots, Tilhere, 778–781, and Etheldune, 915–922, were promoted to the see of Worcester.

The fate of this monastery is referred to in the Domesday Survey of 1087: "Gueda, mother of Earl Harold, held Woodchester. Earl Godwin bought it of Azor and gave it to his wife, that she might be maintained from thence when he abode at Berkeley; for she was unwilling to eat anything from that manor on account of the destruction of the abbey." It was no doubt at the instigation of Godwin that Edward the Confessor dissolved the convent; and the earl, as was his wont, obtained a large share of the plunder. A century and a half later Walter Mapes, rector of Westbury-on-Severn, who certainly had no love for Godwin and his family, told the story how the earl had first destroyed the good name of the abbess and her nuns by a shameless plot, and then proceeded to confiscate their possessions; but there is no proof that the story was true.

Godwin had a bad repute, nevertheless, as a robber of churches, for the Abingdon version of Domesday says: "Godwin in these days grew sick . . . but he did all too little penance for the property of God which he held belonging to many holy places."

The vast possessions forming the endowment of the monastery of Berkeley seem to have passed into the hands of King Edward, and, after the Norman Conquest, to have become the royal demesne of King

William. There were some 70,000 acres of land, bringing in an income to the king of £187 10*s*.

We learn from Domesday that Earl William Fitz-Osborn, before leaving England in 1070, made Roger provost of Berkeley, and set aside five hides at Nesse for the construction of a small castle (*castellulum*) for him. The Rev. C. S. Taylor, in his *Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire*, shows that Nesse must be equivalent to Berkeley, and not to Sharpness. This *castellulum* was not a building of stone, but a high mound, encircled with a moat and crowned with a wooden palisade, and below the mound was a base court, or bailey, having its own moat, rampart and stockade. This was the form of stronghold which prevailed in France early in the eleventh century, was introduced into England by the Normans during the Confessor's reign, and prevailed after the Conquest.

Roger, who must have been one of Earl William's Norman followers, seems to have obtained a grant of the fee-farm of Berkeley from King William after the exile of Earl William's son in 1174. He was one of the commissioners appointed in 1086 to draw up the Great Survey of England. In 1088 the manors of Berkeley—the chroniclers call them Berkeley Hernesse—were wasted by the barons in rebellion against William Rufus; and Roger de Berkeley, as he now called himself, must have suffered severely. In 1091 he entered the Benedictine Abbey of Gloucester as a monk, and was succeeded at Berkeley by a son of the same name. This Roger founded the Priory of Leonard Stanley, and joined his kinsman, William de Berkeley, in the foundation of a Cistercian abbey in Kingswood. Later on, in the troublous times of Stephen, fearing what might happen to his priory, his son Roger, the third of this name, gave it to the Abbey of Gloucester, and it remained a cell of that monastery until the dissolution. The conventual church, formerly half parochial, half

Staircase, Berkeley Castle.

monastic, remains to the present time, a monument of its builder's skill and of its founder's wealth and piety.

Roger de Berkeley III suffered many things in the wars between Stephen and Matilda, was imprisoned at Gloucester, and in the end lost his vast possessions. In 1152 Henry II gave Berkeley Hernesse in fee to Robert Fitzharding, the king's reeve at Bristol. Harding, his father, was the son of Ealdnoth, King Edward's staller, and therefore of Saxon origin. Robert had lent Matilda and her son large sums of money to carry on their struggle for the Crown of England, and Henry, on his accession, repaid him by this splendid gift. For a time Roger de Berkeley defended his patrimony by force of arms; but, at the suggestion of the king, in 1153, the combatants came to terms. Roger's son married a daughter of Robert, and was granted in fee the castle and manor of Dursley, whilst Maurice, the son of Robert, took to wife Alice, the daughter of Roger de Berkeley. Then Robert took possession of his newly acquired manors, and the two families lived in peace.

The new lord of Berkeley was a generous patron of the Church, building and endowing St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, now the cathedral; and here he and many of his descendants were buried, as their tombs bear witness.

It was for this lord that the castle of Berkeley was built by Henry II. The earlier mound was faced with stone—thus forming what is known as a shell keep—and the stockade which crowned the rampart of the bailey was superseded by a massive wall. At first the lords dwelt on the summit of the mound; but ere long spacious rooms were built inside the bailey, or inner court, against the curtain, or wall, and a stone bridge and staircase replaced the planks and ladders which had formerly crossed the moat and given access to the summit of the mound.

I propose to describe the castle as we see it to-day. The castle, church and town of Berkeley stand on rising

ground some fifty feet above the meadows through which the Little Avon flows towards the Severn, two miles distant. The castle was protected in mediaeval days by an artificial ditch on the north and west; the natural slope of the ground on the east and south was rendered steeper by scarping. The meadows became after winter rains an impassable morass, and they could be inundated at any time in case of a threatened siege.

The castle is approached by a steep hill which leads up to the outer gate. In front of this is a permanent bridge over the moat, built in 1587 to supersede the earlier drawbridge. The gatehouse is probably of fourteenth-century date, and it has no portcullis. The flanking towers and walls have been removed. The outer ward is triangular in shape, the outer gateway forming the apex, and the keep and inner gateway the base. The great bell in the middle of the court was brought from China by Captain Dew of H.M.S. *Encounter*. The cannons were taken at Acra in 1842 by one of the Lords Fitzhardinge.

The breach in the keep was made by the Parliamentary leader, Colonel Rainsborough, when he took the castle in 1645, and it was enlarged in 1648 by order of Cromwell to make the castle incapable of defence. The mound forming the nucleus of the shell keep had originally a ditch round it; this was filled in when the courts, or wards, were constructed. The fourteenth-century inner gateway has no flanking towers, but connects the domestic apartments with the keep. There is a portcullis groove in the inner archway. On entering the inner ward we see on the left the keep, with its forebuilding and external staircase; and on the right are the drawing-rooms, bedrooms, etc.

The chapel occupies the south-east angle; next to it is the hall, and beyond, to the left, are the butteries, kitchen and other domestic offices. Through a handsome porch, vaulted and groined, we enter the hall,

Chapel of St. Mary, Berkeley Castle.

which is sixty-one feet long and thirty-two feet wide, and is built against the original wall, or curtain, of the castle. The window within the buttery screen is Norman; the three windows of the hall itself are Decorated, or Edwardian. Above the passage or vestibule separating the hall from the butteries is a minstrels' gallery, probably of Tudor date; and there is a raised dais at the south end for the dining-table of the lord of the castle and his favoured guests.

Many interesting portraits hang on the walls, and the four windows on the west side are filled with eighteenth-century heraldic glass illustrating the marriages of the family from 1115 to 1785. Over the fireplace are suits of armour and tattered banners carried at Culloden by the regiment which the then Lord Berkeley commanded.

A broad staircase of dark oak leads to the drawing-rooms and chapel. The chapel rests on the vaulting of the great cellar, or store-room, of the castle—on the south side is the original wall, fourteen feet thick. This is pierced by a narrow aisle, or mural passage. Against the west wall is a Tudor pew of two stages, the upper stage being reserved for the use of the family. On the wall, under the arched passage between the windows, and on the roof timbers are traces of inscriptions in old black letter. These are a translation of the Apocalypse in Latin and French, by John Trevisa, a distinguished Cornish scholar, chaplain to Thomas III, eighth Lord Berkeley, 1326–1361. The drawing-rooms, which are not generally open to the public, contain some fine oil and miniature portraits. In the breakfast-room are several sea-pieces by Vandevelde and two views, of Whitehall and St. James's Palace, painted by Danckert for Charles II. The bedrooms are hung with old tapestry, and contain carved oak four-post beds. The kitchen retains its fourteenth-century form. We now cross the courtyard and ascend the staircase leading to the keep. On the right, in what is called the fore-build-

ing, is a small chamber which the unfortunate king, Edward II, is said to have occupied. The bedstead, with its tapestry hangings, is later than his time. The doorway at the top of the steps is Norman, and was flanked by highly ornate shafts, of which only one remains. The portal opens into a vaulted passage through the wall of the keep, and gains the summit of the original mound through another Norman archway. The keep consists of a mound twenty-two feet high, cased by walling.

To the right of the entrance is the chapel tower, now used as a muniment-room. Beyond this is a rectangular tower, known as the Thorp Tower, because a family of that name held Wanswell Court by the service of defending it in case of a siege; visitors should ascend this tower for the sake of the charming view. On the left of the entrance to the keep is a half-round tower, in the upper room of which Edward II is said to have been murdered in 1327. Below this room is a dungeon twenty-five feet deep. There is another half-round tower at the south-west angle, blocked within and without by masonry.

Returning to the outer court, we find on the left the stone steps leading to the gardens, with their upper and lower terrace walks. There is also a bowling-green, hedged in by ancient yews.

An excellent view of the castle may be obtained from the banks of the Avon. It is principally from this side that the drawings given by the county historians have been taken: Atkyns, 1712; Rudder, 1779; and Lysons, 1803, 1804. The visitor to the castle must not omit to inspect the church, which was built and restored much at the same times as the castle. The tower, which is detached from the church, was built in 1753. The Early English west front and the graceful pillars of the nave arcades, of the same style, are especially noteworthy.

On the south side of the nave are the recumbent effigies of Thomas III, eighth Lord Berkeley (in whose time Edward II was murdered), and his second wife, the

Berkeley Tombs, Berkeley Church.

Lady Katherine. The Berkeley chantry chapel contains the effigies of James, eleventh Lord Berkeley, its builder, who died in 1463, and of Henry, seventeenth Lord Berkeley, who died in 1613. The carving on two pinnacles of this chapel represent St. George and the Dragon and the Witch of Berkeley, who is supposed to have lived in the days of Edward the Confessor.

The space at my disposal will only allow me to allude very briefly to the principal events which have made Berkeley Castle and its lords famous. Robert II, third Lord Berkeley, 1189–1220, took a leading part in the struggle between the barons and King John which led to the signing of Magna Charta. Thomas II, sixth lord, fought at Evesham on the side of Henry III in 1265, and was taken prisoner at Bannockburn in 1314. Thomas III, eighth lord, sided with Queen Isabella in her war with the Despencers, and received Edward II at Berkeley Castle as a prisoner committed to his charge on April 15, 1327. Lord Berkeley treated his royal guest with courtesy and kindness, so much so that he was ordered to retire to his manor-house at Wotton-under-Edge and leave the king in the charge of Gournay and Maltravers.

The story, which has been generally accepted, says that, at the instigation of the queen, they tried for a time to hasten his death by ill-treatment, and, failing to do so, murdered him at midnight on September 21, 1327. The abbots of Kingswood, Bristol and Malmesbury, through fear of the queen's displeasure, refused to give the king burial; but John Thokey, Abbot of Gloucester, with more courage and foresight, hastened to Berkeley and brought his body to St. Peter's Abbey Church, now the cathedral. The funeral procession was met at the south gate of the city by a vast crowd of citizens and monks, and the king was buried on the north side of the presbytery. When the people of England heard that Edward had been murdered they forgot the wrongs they

had suffered at his hands, and began to revere him as though he were a saint and a martyr. Pilgrims resorted in thousands to his tomb, and the abbey became so enriched with their offerings that the monks, under the superintendence of their abbot, John Wygmore, were able, in 1329, to begin the work of transforming their church from Norman to Perpendicular.

Thirty years ago attention was called to a letter purporting to be written to Edward III by Manuele Fieschi, papal notary at Avignon. This letter gives a circumstantial account, which the writer professes to have heard from the lips of Edward II himself, of the king's escape from Berkeley to Corfe Castle, and from thence to Ireland, Holland and Avignon. From Provence he went to Italy and took refuge in the castle of Cecima, where, I suppose, he died. The letter also states that the body of the porter of the castle, slain in attempting to prevent the escape of the king, was placed in a coffin and buried, at Gloucester, in lieu of the king's. It is only fair to the dean and chapter of the cathedral to add that little credence has been given by historians to this improbable tale. Lord Berkeley was tried for the murder of the king, and acquitted. He fought at Cressy in 1346 and at Poitiers in 1356. He died in 1361, and was buried with his second wife in the nave of Berkeley church. On the death of Thomas IV, tenth lord, without male heirs, a dispute arose with regard to the succession of his nephew to Berkeley Castle and estates, and this culminated in 1469 in a pitched battle between William I, twelfth lord, and Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, each at the head of many followers.

The fight took place at Nibley Green, and resulted in the death of Lord Lisle and the defeat of his men. It seems strange that such an event could remain unnoticed by those in authority; but we must remember that in that year the Wars of the Roses broke out afresh, and Edward IV became a fugitive. Two years later the

NAVE OF BERKELEY CHURCH.

battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury replaced him on the throne. This William, Lord Berkeley, having no heirs of his own, entailed his castle and manors on Henry VII and his heir male. From 1492, when he died, till 1553, when Edward VI died, they were in the possession of the Crown, and the right heirs were exiles from their ancestral home. In the latter year, however, Berkeley reverted to Henry, seventeenth lord, and his descendants have held it ever since.

In 1573 Queen Elizabeth, as many other English monarchs have done, came to Berkeley Castle in one of her royal progresses, and during her stay made a great slaughter of her host's red-deer: twenty-seven stags were slain in one day. Lord Berkeley, who was not at Berkeley at the time, spoke a little too plainly about his loss, and was warned to be careful, as the Earl of Leicester had taken a great liking to the castle and estates.

During the civil war Berkeley Castle was seized and held for the Parliament by Captain Forbes, who was little better than a freebooter; but after the siege and surrender of Bristol in 1643 he thought it best to quit it. Charles I halted at the castle in August 1643 on his way to besiege Gloucester, and it was garrisoned by a Royalist force. In September 1645 it was besieged and taken by the Parliamentary forces under Colonel Rainsborough. George I, eighteenth lord, 1613–1658, took little part in the civil war, and when it came to an end the castle was restored to him by Cromwell, having been previously rendered incapable of defence by a large breach in the north side of the keep.

WINCHCOMBE AND SUDELEY CASTLE

By E. A. B. Barnard

The Cotswold Hills themselves include an almost countless number of interesting and picturesque towns, villages and hamlets within their ample area; but the traveller descending from those gentle heights and following along their bases finds himself in districts perhaps none the less captivating in their interests than are those of the hill-country through which he has passed.

This is especially the case with the northern base of the range, and particularly with that part of the district which extends from Cheltenham to Quinton at the foot of Meon Hill, the "outlier" of the Cotswolds. It is true that there is not much of interest to be noted between Cheltenham and Winchcombe, but when once the little stone-built town is reached, set deeply—as its name implies—in one of those beautiful vales which distinguish the bases of the hills, then history begins to assert itself at every point, and quickly forges a strong link to which may be bound the lesser links which will be made as the journey is pursued onward through Hailes, Stanway, Stanton, Buckland, Broadway, Willersey and Mickleton, with Quinton to form the completion of the chain.

Winchcombe, doubtless deriving its name from the Saxon words *wincel*, a corner, and *comb*, a valley, is a town of very considerable antiquity. It appears in Domesday as Wincelcumbe, but the year 787 appears to be the earliest date which can be certainly associated with the history of the place. In that year King Offa,

afterwards the founder of St. Alban's Abbey, erected a nunnery on the spot where afterwards, in 798, Kenulph, King of Mercia, laid the foundation of a stately abbey. Here three hundred monks of the Benedictine Order were maintained during the first years of the monastic rule, although these may not have been monks in the usual acceptation of the word, and their number is reduced to two hundred by Matthew of Westminster. However, the larger number is most probably a correct statement, for the annals of Winchcombe and of Worcester both agree in giving it; and possibly, as Rudder says, "not more than forty or fifty of them were in holy orders, the rest working to supply the priests and themselves in all necessaries that might be wanting."

In the original charter of King Kenulph made to the abbey in the year 811, being the sixteenth year of his reign, it is recited how the king "did begin an imperfect work at a place called anciently by the inhabitants Wincelcombe, in the province of the Wixes." This charter is given in full in Sir Robert Atkyns's *Gloucestershire;* in Dugdale and, in later years, in the late Mrs. Dent's monumental work on Winchcombe and Sudeley Castle. The original church is described in the charter as being a noble edifice, and not inglorious in its first design. It was dedicated by Wulfred, Archbishop of York, to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin; and the ceremony of the dedication must have been extremely imposing. The archbishop was assisted by twelve bishops; King Kenulph, Cuthred, King of Kent, and Sired, King of the East Saxons, were also present, as also were "all the great men of the kingdom of Mercia," of which at that time, according to the "Golden Legend," Winchcombe was the reputed capital. The charter also sets forth various gifts made to the abbey by King Kenulph, and notably that of the "banner of the holy cross, on which Jesus Christ our Lord did suffer." This relic was to be preserved with

the utmost care, and any one guilty of doing violence to it was to be excommunicated and accursed for ever; but, on the other hand, any one who had forfeited his life, or was guilty of any open or secret crime, and who sought sanctuary within the abbey, demanding the holy banner of the cross, should find entire safety and protection.

The charter having been duly signed by all the leading notabilities who were present, there was still another ceremony to be performed. The magnanimous King Kenulph had already bestowed the abbey to the glory of God; rich presents to the nobles; a pound weight of silver to all those who had no lands; a mark in gold to all priests; a shilling to every monk; largesse to the people. At this time there remained in his hands, as prisoner, Eadbert, King of Kent, and Kenulph completed the sum of his benefactions by granting him his liberty—an act which, according to William of Malmesbury, made the church resound with acclamations. The ceremonies being completed, it is said that the king escorted all his guests as far as Cleeve Hill, where they parted. So runs a local tradition, and to this day the spot is still pointed out where the guests took their respective ways. A plain square stone marks the place, and upon it, within recent times, the words "Huddlestone's Table" have been cut. This stone, it seems, was set in position about 300 years ago by the Delaberes of Southam, and is the facsimile of an ancient one which formerly existed there until destruction overtook it.

King Kenulph afterwards returned to Winchcombe Abbey, but from that time until his death there is no evidence that he was connected with his foundation in any other circumstances. According to Matthew of Paris he died in A.D. 822, after having reigned five-and-twenty years, and "was solemnly buried in the church of the monastery of Winchcombe aforesaid,

Pilgrims' Gallery, Winchcombe.

which he himself had founded." The dead king left two daughters, Quendrida and Burgmill, and a seven-year-old son named Kenelm, whom he committed to the care of Quendrida. She, having ill-considered designs of ascending to the throne of Mercia, persuaded Askebert, his tutor and governor, to murder him. Askebert accordingly lured the boy into a wood called Clent, where he cut off his head in an obscure place between two hills where a white cow frequented, and which was on that account known as the White Cow's Valley. The story, as recorded in the *Legenda Aurea*, or "Golden Legend," referred to above, runs that for some time the murder remained undiscovered, but was at last miraculously revealed by the flight of a dove over St. Peter's Church in Rome. As the bird passed over the church it dropped a parchment scroll, upon which these words were written in Saxon letters of gold—

"In Clent in Cowberche hed bewevyd lyth Kenelme."

None of those present could understand the signification of the words, until at last an Englishman was found, and he quickly explained the inscription, which to-day may be translated—

"In Clent cowbatch under a thorn,
Lies the young prince of his head off-shorn."

The Pope immediately communicated to the English princes the fact that one of the blood royal was lying murdered "in Clent," and on the receipt of the news great crowds assembled at Clent, in the north of Worcestershire, near Hagley. A prodigy was soon vouchsafed to those present, for the White Cow appeared in its wonted pastures and commenced to low over the place where the little boy's body lay buried; and a spring of water burst forth, over which in later days the chapel of St. Kenelm was built. The body was quickly recovered; but even now it was not to have peace, for

a great strife arose between the people of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire as to who should possess the relics. Finally it was decided that it would be seemly to bury them in Winchcombe Abbey, adjacent to the remains of the murdered boy's royal father, and hither they were brought with great ceremony. Upon the arrival of the funeral procession at Winchcombe, it seems that Quendrida, surprised to hear such solemn chanting and such commotion amongst the populace, rose from her seat in "the dining-room of her palace" and looked out upon the throng. She quickly discerned what was happening, and as the monks passed beneath the window bearing the body and chanting holy psalms, she, having her psalter in her hands, commenced to sing Psalm cix. as loudly as possible, in order to disturb the celebration of her brother's funeral. However, when she reached the nineteenth verse, where are the words: *Let it thus happen from the Lord unto my enemies, and unto those who speak evil against my soul*, her eyeballs instantly dropped from their sockets and besmeared the place with blood, which, it is said, was to be seen many ages afterwards. The circumstances of the wicked murder of little Kenelm were sufficient in themselves to attract people to view his burial-place; but when to these were added the alleged miracles at Clent and Winchcombe, it is small wonder that great veneration was accorded to the canonized boy, and that much wealth accrued to Winchcombe Abbey from the visits of thousands of pilgrims to his shrine. William of Malmesbury says: "The body of the little saint is very generally adored, and there is hardly any place in England more venerated, or where greater numbers of persons attend at the festival, and this arising from the long-continued belief of his sanctity and the constant exhibition of miracles."

In process of time the monastery, according to Tanner, became a College of Seculars; and it seems to have suffered severely from the ravages of the Danes, for in

the reign of King Edgar it was in a very ruinous state, and was restored by Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, at which time it was dedicated anew to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Kenelm. At the Conquest the custody of the abbey was given temporarily to Evesham Abbey, and in the next reign it suffered severely from the effects of a great storm, noted by William of Malmesbury. The final disaster to Kenulph's foundation befell it in October 1151, when it was destroyed by fire, a calamity which shortly afterwards befell the town itself. Evidently the disaster to the abbey was not allowed to remain long unretrieved, for the Tewkesbury annals, recording the dedication of that abbey in 1239, chronicle also in that year the dedication, amongst others, of Winchcombe Abbey, which had probably been rebuilt some years previously.

At this time, according to Dugdale, Henry de Tudinton was presiding over the destinies of the abbey; and he was succeeded in 1247 by John Yanworthe, who added the manor of Marston Sicca to the abbatial possessions, and also many other good estates in tithes and farms. In the year 1265 he was summoned to Parliament, Winchcombe being a mitred and peeral abbey, in addition to being allowed the privilege of fortifying itself.

Throughout the next three centuries or so the abbey appears to have been the centre of considerable religious and educational activity. In 1488 it welcomed Richard Kederminster as abbot, and he at once commenced a strenuous career there. He had been educated in Gloucester College, now Worcester College, Oxford, where there was an apartment belonging to Winchcombe Abbey, and called Winchcombe Lodging. Kederminster was a learned and tactful man, and quickly brought his abbey into such fame that, says Rudder, it was equal to a little university. It is recorded that he wrote a very valuable history of the foundation of the monastery, and another of the lives of the abbots, but that his work

was afterwards unfortunately destroyed in the Great Fire of London. After a rule of forty-three years Kederminster died, in 1531, during the first mutterings of the storm of the Dissolution; and he was succeeded by the last abbot, Richard Ancelme, who, with twenty-four monks, subscribed to the king's supremacy in 1534, and afterwards, in 1539, completely surrendered the abbey and its possessions to the king's commissioners.

Very little record has come down to us concerning the abbey church, in which there seem to have been several chantry chapels. The Lady Chapel is described as being curiously adorned; and Leland notes a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, in which Henry Boteler of Sudeley, who had made several benefactions to the church, was buried. Until the year 1893, little as is known of the ecclesiastical buildings at Winchcombe, still less was known as to its actual site, which for many years had aroused considerable discussion. Browne Willis, when writing his work on the Mitred Abbeys, purposely visited the site in September 1714, but found no traces whatever of the church; and he supposes that the whole of the abbey buildings were demolished by Lord Seymour, the first proprietor, immediately after the Dissolution, the site being quarried in the same way as obtained at Evesham.

He says: "The very site of the buildings being levelled and turned into arable ground, it is impossible to form any conjecture where they stood, and all I could learn was from tradition: that they stood on the east side of the present parish church, which is a good building, and adorned with a spacious body and a neat tower at the west end. The inhabitants showed me mean offices at some distance from the church, where the abbot's hind or chief ploughman lived; and also informed me that it had been delivered to them; that the tower of the abbey was large and fine, which was all I could inform myself about; otherwise they could not

give me the least description of any part of it, or that any more buildings were remembered standing in their time." All the classical historians of Gloucestershire avoid making any allusion or conjecture as to the site occupied by the abbey; but Mr. Loftus Brock, visiting Winchcombe for that purpose about the year 1875, says: "I found two houses to the north-east of the church which may have been a portion of the buildings, and contained some fifteenth-century work. The whole of the ground east of the church up to Cow (or Chapel) Lane, now partly orchard, is full of inequalities, indicating the foundations of buildings of great extent. The meadow between the north wall of the church and Back Lane—the traditional site of Ivy Castle, and doubtless a portion of the priory—is also full of irregularities; and a high bank, like an earthwork, runs parallel to Back Lane for about forty yards. There is no stonework above-ground, and, curiously, no fragments of carved or moulded work are visible or built up in any of the buildings near." Eighteen years later, in 1893, it fortunately happened that Mr. Brock was again in the neighbourhood of Winchcombe, and at the request of Mrs. Dent, he made a careful survey of a large area of ground in the immediate vicinity of the parish church, and decided upon a plan of excavation. The result was satisfactory, inasmuch as Mr. Brock was able to trace some of the foundations, and to make a ground-plan of the nave of the abbey. Otherwise, the hope that the excavations would produce results of great importance was not fulfilled.

Prior to the reign of King Henry VI the townsfolk of Winchcombe had worshipped in a parish church dedicated to St. Nicholas, which, having fallen into decay, they were permitted to worship in the abbey church. Abbot William Winchcombe was elected in 1452, and shortly afterwards he commenced the erection of a new parish church, a sum of £200 being presented

to him for that purpose by the parishioners. This money was soon found to be insufficient, but happily Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley, came to their assistance, and the new church was at last completed. Its site was that formerly occupied by a small chapel at the west end of the abbey dedicated to St. Pancras. The new church was dedicated to St. Peter, and it still continues to be the parish church. On a piscina preserved in the south wall of the chancel are the arms of some of the principal contributors to the fund for the erection of the church, viz. Winchcombe Abbey, Gloucester Abbey and Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley. The cost of the chancel was defrayed by Abbot William.

The church is capacious and handsome, and is built in the late Perpendicular style. It consists of a nave with two broad aisles and chancel. A tower of good proportions rises at the west end, and there is a south porch with groined vaulting, over which is a parvise that has been used for educational purposes within the memory of people living in Winchcombe to-day. From this room there is a door leading out on to the roof, from whence a good view of the surrounding country is obtained, and also of the clerestory windows and of some remarkable gurgoyles. The chancel, partly rebuilt in 1690, corresponds with the nave in width, and is not separated from it by an arch, but by a wood screen, which has undergone apparent vicissitudes. In addition to the piscina already mentioned there is a triple sedilia, and near the south door is a sixteenth-century Poor Man's Box, with three locks. The church also possesses an altar frontal, lately skilfully restored, which was evidently made from a pre-Reformation cope. Tradition naturally asserts that it was worked by Queen Katherine of Aragon and her ladies when at Sudeley Castle. At the west end of the church are two stone coffins, which are stated to be those of King Kenulph and the little St. Kenelm, of whom so much

Winchcombe Church.

has been narrated already in connection with the history of Winchcombe Abbey that these coffins require more than a passing reference. In the year 1815 the fine old Abbot's House, which for many years had been used as a parish workhouse, was unfortunately demolished by its owner, Mr. Williams, and thus Winchcombe lost one of its most interesting relics. At the same time Mr. Williams made extensive excavations on what was supposed to be the site of the abbey, and in doing so he is stated to have clearly traced the deep and massive foundations of the first church erected there. At the east end of the interior of the church was discovered a small stone coffin, and close by it was another one of usual size. "Upon the removal of the flagstones which covered it," writes one who was present at the discovery, "there appeared a skull, with a few of the other larger bones, and a very *long-bladed knife*, which had become a mass of rust, and fell to pieces on being handled. The bones also vanished immediately they were exposed to the air. Speed says that Kenelm was interred in the monastery near to his father, and no two coffins except those before mentioned were found near together. This circumstance, therefore, combined with that of the knife, which it is possible the murderer left with the body, and which might have been removed and deposited with it, induces the celebrated antiquary, Fosbroke, to form the conclusion that the largest coffin was Kenulph's and the smaller Kenelm's." It certainly seems a rather convincing argument, and if granted, then Winchcombe Church possesses two of the most interesting relics in Gloucestershire.

As before stated, the year 787 appears to be the first date which can be associated with the history of Winchcombe, the ecclesiastical side of which is so absorbing that one is apt to somewhat overlook the fact that the town itself possesses many valuable historic associations. The kingdom of Mercia was founded towards the end of

the sixth century by an Anglican chief named Crida, and his grandson Penda becoming connected with this neighbourhood, one may reasonably suppose that he chose Winchcombe as a place of residence. He it was who probably created Winchcombe the distinct sheriffdom which it is known to have been at that time, and which it remained until the year 1017, when Canute ascended the throne. At that time the government of Mercia was given to Edric Streona, and shortly afterwards Winchcombe, then described as "the faire and chieffest cittie of Mercia," was deprived of its high honours and was united to Gloucestershire. The "cittie" was placed in the southern division of the Hundred of Kiftsgate, which comprised the north and north-eastern parts of the county; and in the reign of Edward the Confessor it was created a borough, presided over by a port-reeve. After the Conquest came the rule by bailiffs, and finally the local authority was vested in the hands of two bailiffs and twelve burgesses, a state of things which existed until a comparatively recent date.

During the civil wars which distracted this country in the reign of Stephen, Winchcombe suffered severely, and in 1140 it was assaulted by Milo of Gloucester, who had taken up the cause of the Empress Matilda. The greater part of the town was burnt, and Milo carried off most of the leading inhabitants, whom he held in close custody until the heavy ransoms demanded were forthcoming. In the succeeding reign the Winchcombe Cartulary records that the town suffered from fire, but no further particulars are given concerning the calamity. In its most flourishing state the town was large and was surrounded by a wall, the remains of which were seen by Leland when he visited Winchcombe in the reign of Henry VIII, soon after the destruction of the abbey had been commenced and the consequent decay of the old borough. Leland collected some details of it from "one Avery, the parson of Dene," who told him, amongst

other things, that a great part of the town stood on the side of the river next to Sudeley Castle, where there were no houses in Leland's time; and that it extended on the other side above the church, "where the Farme of Corwedene is," and that "of old tyme it was a mighty large Towne." The town was defended by a fortress, or castle, which stood near the south side of the present parish church, and, says Rudder, was called the "Ivy Castle, as appeared from writings in Winchcombe Abbey, perhaps because the walls of it were covered with ivy." However, when Leland visited Winchcombe no vestige of it remained, nor had the last prior of Winchcombe ever seen it, "having only heard that there was such a fort, which stood about the east-north-east part of the borough." The decay of the borough after the close of the monastic régime appears to have been rapid, if one may judge from the preamble of the Grant of a fair and market made by Queen Elizabeth, which recites that the borough is *fallen into so great ruin and decay that its inhabitants are not able to support and repair it for the great poverty that reigns amongst them.*

It is well known that Gloucestershire played a very prominent part in the Great Rebellion, owing to its proximity to Oxford, the headquarters of King Charles. The south of Wales was also for the king, and therefore it was very essential that an uninterrupted communication should exist between that district and Oxford. Gloucestershire intervened with its garrison towns of Gloucester, Cirencester and Tewkesbury, whilst in Worcestershire Evesham was also of much importance to the king; and the proximity of these towns to Sudeley Castle often caused considerable fighting to take place there, and in and around Winchcombe. At the commencement of the rebellion George, Lord Chandos, then owner of the castle, raised a regiment of cavalry at his own expense, which he gallantly led into the field in aid of the royal cause, and at the same time garrisoned

his castle with a body of troops under the command of Captain Bridges. On January 1, 1642, during the absence of Lord Chandos, Colonel Edward Massey surprised the castle with a force of 300 infantry and two pieces of artillery, and the next day the garrison capitulated. The following year Lord Chandos recovered his castle, and received King Charles there, entertaining him for some days, during which the king issued a proclamation to the loyal inhabitants of Cornwall which concluded with the words: "Given at our camp at Sudeley Castle the 10th of September, 1643." Finally, in June 1644, Sudeley Castle, after it had sustained great damage, surrendered to Sir William Waller, and its governor, Sir William Morton, was taken prisoner, with many other supporters of the Royalist cause. Amongst those slain was a skilled cannoneer, to whom allusion is made in an old ballad which describes the siege of the castle—

> "Bounce! Bounce! again go Waller's guns,
> And Morton began to swear:
> 'I'd rather have lost ten thousand pounds
> Than the head of my cannoneer.'"

The castle was left in the hands of Captain George Massey, against whom the garrison mutinied; but Massey shot the ringleader, and the remainder were reduced to obedience. Two years afterwards, in May 1646, the rival forces were once again near Winchcombe, the Royalists being at Campden and the Roundheads still holding Sudeley. At this time the town again suffered by a sudden attack on the part of the Royalist force; but very soon afterwards the king's cause was in a hopeless state, Sir Jacob Astley was defeated at Stow-on-the-Wold, and the land had more or less of peace after so long a strife.

Some twenty years after the close of the Great Rebellion we find that the diarist Pepys, under the date September 19, 1667, has the following entry—

"She [a visitor] tells me how since the lifeguard which

Old Register at Winchcombe.

we thought a little while since was sent down into the country about some insurrection, was sent to Winchcomb, to spoil the tobacco there, which it seems the people there do plant contrary to law, and have always done, and still being under force and danger of being spoiled, as it hath been oftentimes, and yet they will continue to plant it."

The law referred to by Pepys had been passed for the benefit of West Indian planters in the year 1652, and naturally the home growers made vain endeavours to frustrate it. The "Perfect Diurnall" of the proceedings in Parliament records the petition and cries of many landowners and labourers at Cheltenham and Winchcombe. For several seasons the law was defied, and in July 1658 a party of horse marched out of Gloucester with the avowed intention of destroying the tobacco crops growing in the neighbourhood of the two towns. However, they met with such a threatening reception from the people that they were obliged to return to Gloucester without effecting their purpose. In Fuller's *Worthies* it is recorded that the trade was so profitable that many got great estates thereby; and further evidence of the beneficial effect of tobacco-growing is furnished in a humorous pamphlet, entitled *Harry Hangman's Honour*, which was published in 1655. Herein the Gloucestershire hangman playfully says: "The truth is, gentlemen, the very planting of tobacco hath proved the decay of my trade; for since it has been planted in Gloucestershire, especially at Winchcombe, my trade hath proved nothing worth."

The history of Winchcombe is almost as inseparably connected with Sudeley and its castle as it is with that of Winchcombe Abbey. Little is known of the history of Sudeley previous to the Conquest, but from early ages, and long prior to the period of the erection of the castle, it was the home of a line of barons of royal descent. "In old time," says Camden, "certain noble-

men here dwelt, and of it had their addition, *de Sudeley,* descended of a right ancient English race; to wit, from Goda, King Ethelred's daughter, whose son, Ralf de Mederatinus, Earl of Hereford, begat Harold, Lord of Sudeley, whose progeny flourished here for a long time;" and probably he had taken most of his information from the Domesday Book, wherein similar details are recorded. Leland notes that "there had been a manor place at Sudeley before the building of the castle, and the platte is yet seen in Sudeley Park where it stood." The above-mentioned Harold succeeded his father as Lord of Sudeley in 1055. Later on, in Stephen's reign, a castle was built here, possibly on the same site as the manor-house which Leland says the lords of Sudeley inhabited aforetime; and of this castle there are still some remains in the low embattled tower, now ivy-clad, on the west side of Queen Katherine's apartments. Harold left two sons, of whom the elder, John, succeeded him at Sudeley, and was married to Grace de Tracy, a granddaughter of Henry I. We have already seen that Winchcombe suffered somewhat severely during the wars between Stephen and Matilda, and this was mainly accountable for by the fact that John de Sudeley actively espoused Matilda's cause, and that consequently his castle had to withstand several strong attacks. He died in 1165, and was succeeded by his son Ralph, who died in 1192, his possessions coming to his eldest son, Otner. This Otner died without issue, and his brother Ralph succeeded to the manorial estates, which remained in that branch of the family until 1341, when it died out in the male line, and came to Joan de Sudeley, who married Thomas Boteler, lord of Henley in Arden, and son of Sir William Boteler of Wem. In 1368 it descended to Thomas Boteler, son of the above Joan and Thomas Boteler; and he married Alice, daughter of Lord Beauchamp of Powick, by whom he had issue two sons, John and Ralph, and two daughters. John died during

his father's lifetime, and Ralph succeeded to the estates at Sudeley; and he it was who erected, about the year 1442, the greater part of Sudeley Castle; St. Mary's Chapel, Sudeley; and St. Peter's Church, Winchcombe. It is said that Ralph was able to accomplish these works by the aid of the proceeds realized from the spoils which he had acquired in the wars with France, and, further, that the Portmare Tower in the castle was paid for by him out of the ransom of a French admiral named Portmare. In this splendid retirement it was that, in the decline of life, and now removed from courts and camps, Ralph Boteler probably hoped to end his days in peace; but, having espoused the Lancastrian cause, he fought at the fateful battle of St. Albans in 1455, when Henry VI was taken prisoner. Upon the accession of Edward IV to the throne many of the Lancastrian party were called upon to answer for their support of that cause; but Boteler was left in peace at Sudeley until 1469, when, according to Leland, "King Edward bore no good-will to the lord of Sudeley, whereupon by complaints he was attached, and, going up to London, he looked from the hill of Sudeley, and said, 'Sudeley Castle, thou art the traitor not I!'" Finally he surrendered the coveted castle and all his other possessions to the king, and from this time it was held by constables. In 1478 the castle was granted to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who returned it soon afterwards in exchange for Richmond Castle in Yorkshire. In 1483 Richard became possessed of it as king, and then it passed successively to Henry VII and Henry VIII. In 1486 the first-named gave the castle to his uncle, Jasper Tudor, who died childless, and the property reverted to the Crown. In the time of Henry VIII, who visited the castle in 1532 with his queen, Anne Boleyn—to again quote Leland—"it now goeth to ruinne, more pittye"; but in the first year of Edward VI, being granted with the manor, and eighteen other Gloucestershire manors, to Sir Thomas Seymour (the king's uncle, and brother of the Protector Somerset),

who was then created Baron Seymour of Sudeley, and constituted Lord High Admiral, it was splendidly restored by him, and was destined shortly to become the seat of royalty. Henry VIII had only been dead a few months when Seymour offered his hand to the dowager Queen Katherine, and was speedily accepted for her fourth husband, the marriage taking place at Hampton Court.

In June 1548 Katherine removed to Sudeley Castle with Seymour, where she gathered round her a brilliant circle, amongst whom was the young and talented Lady Jane Grey. Quickly, however, gloom fell upon the castle, for Katherine died in the next September after giving birth to a daughter. The queen-dowager was buried in the castle chapel of St. Mary with much pomp, and a monument was erected over her grave.

Here the remains rested in peace until the year 1782, when the neglected tomb was opened by "some curious ladies," who found therein "a leaden envelope, which they opened in two places, on the face and breast, and found it to contain a human body wrapped in cere-cloth." Again, in 1784 and also in 1786, the grave was opened; and in this year Nash records that he deciphered the following inscription on the lead—

K. P.
HERE LYETHE QUENE
KATERYN WIFE TO KYNG
HENRY THE VIII AND
LAST THE WIFE OF THOMAS
LORD OF SUDELEY, HIGHE
ADMYRALL OF ENGLAND,
AND UNCLE TO KYNG
EDWARD THE VI.
DYED
5 SEPTEMBER
MCCCCC
XLVIII

Finally, in 1817, the remains were reverently placed in the Chandos vault in the ruined chapel, soon to be beautifully restored and to hold the handsome tomb of Queen Katherine, which is there to-day.

After the funeral ceremonies had been completed Seymour stated his intention of breaking up his establishment at Sudeley; but later on he decided to continue it, and in a letter he writes: "Where [at Sudeley] shall remain not only the gentlewomen of the queen's highness's privy chamber, but also the maids which waited at large, and other women who were about her in her lifetime, with an hundred and twenty gentlemen and yeomen." But the hand of Death was hovering over Seymour himself, and when his head fell from the block on Tower Hill, on March 20, 1549, Sudeley Castle once more reverted to the Crown. It was then bestowed on the Marquis of Northampton, who did not long remain possessed of it; for, having espoused the cause of Lady Jane Grey, he was attainted of treason in 1553, but his life was spared. The castle was then conferred on Sir John Bridges, a staunch supporter of Queen Mary, and who had formed one of her immediate escort when she entered London in August of that year. Shortly afterwards Sir John was raised to the peerage, with the title of Baron Chandos of Sudeley, "in consideration," as the Patent expresses it, "not only of his nobility and loyalty, but also of his ability, valour and other virtues." He died in 1557, and was buried at Sudeley, the estates going to his son Edmund, who died in 1572, having accomplished many restorations at the castle. Giles, third Lord Chandos, was seated at Sudeley after the death of his father, and in 1592 the castle once again threw open its gates to a royal visitor, in the majestic person of Queen Elizabeth, who was presented by Lady Chandos with a splendid article of jewellery, consisting of "a falcon or parrot, the body crystal, the head, tail, legs and breast of gold, fully garnished with sparks of

rubies and emeralds, and appendant to a gold chain." Giles, Lord Chandos, died in 1593, leaving no male issue, and was succeeded by his brother William, who died in 1602, leaving as his heir his son Grey Bridges, who soon became renowned for the magnificence of his establishment at Sudeley. He married Anne, eldest daughter of Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, and dying in 1621 was succeeded by his son, George, then little more than a year old. George, sixth Lord Chandos, and last of this noble family by whom Sudeley was inhabited, developed, says Clarendon, into "a young man of spirit and courage"; and that such was the case we have already had evidence from the part he played at Sudeley and elsewhere in the Great Rebellion. He died in 1654, and was buried at Sudeley; and, through his wife, the castle passed into the hands of the Rivers family. Unfortunately it had been left in a lamentable state after the rebellion, and, says a modern writer, "from that time was occupied by successive tenants of the surrounding lands; and for a period of near two centuries seems to have been deserted and neglected by its owners.

In 1810 the castle and a small part of the estate were disposed of by the then Lord Rivers to the Duke of Buckingham, who continued possessed of it till 1837. At that period Mr. John Dent and Mr. William Dent, of Worcester, who had previously purchased of Lord Rivers the bulk of the Sudeley estates, with the extensive manors of Winchcombe and Sudeley, succeeded in negotiating with the duke also for the castle. "From that time," writes the late Mrs. John Coucher Dent in her *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, "it became manifest that a restoration of the church and castle was not improbable. . . . And so it came to pass that in 1840 a considerable portion of the castle again became habitable; and the chapel, under the skilful direction of Sir Gilbert Scott, changed her sombre lines and mossy floor to restored walls and polished marbles, the carved roof

and painted windows shut out heaven's rain and sunshine, creeping flowers and all the swallows that for so many summers had nestled among the ruins. Finally, on August 2, 1863, the little church, so cruelly desecrated by the Puritans, was, by the Bishop of Gloucester, rededicated to divine worship according to the rites of the English Church." It is fitting to close this chapter with these words written by Mrs. Dent, who during her forty-five years' residence at Sudeley Castle was ceaseless in her activities as an archæologist and in all good works, and whose name will always hold a high place in the long roll of honour of which Winchcombe and Sudeley can boast.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FONTS

By Alfred C. Fryer, Ph.D., F.S.A.

Viollet-le-Duc was not acquainted with any font in France anterior to the eleventh century, and certainly very few of our English fonts are of an earlier date. Although at that period every priest could baptize, and, therefore, every parish must have possessed some sort of basin or vessel for baptism, such vessels, however, were exceptional and rare before that date. It is possible that many of the earlier vessels may have been basins, and probably many pre-Conquest fonts were nothing better than wooden tubs.[1] It is quite likely that a few of the wooden fonts may have given place to stone fonts of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, while they, in their turn, were possibly superseded by the work of more skilful Norman masons. The actual number of ornamented pre-Norman fonts in England is very limited. Gloucestershire, however, possesses one of these early ornamented stone fonts, of which the whole county is justly proud. This treasure is to be found in the old Saxon church of Deerhurst.

The ancient font at Deerhurst appears to have been ejected from the church at some unknown period. Some

[1] In Celtic times it was usual to baptize in running water, and in the Anglo-Saxon period it was probably the custom to baptize in holy wells or streams. See *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi. pp. 84–104, where Mr. Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A., draws attention, in his paper on "The Saxon Baptismal Font in Deerhurst Priory Church," to the fact that we possess very few Saxon fonts, that wooden tub-shaped fonts were in use in that period, and that probably the rite of Baptism may have been largely administered outside the sacred buildings after the manner of the ancient British Church.

THE FONT, DEERHURST.

conjecture that this took place at the time of the Reformation, while others believe it was in the troublous days of Cromwell; yet it is possible that the parishioners removed it themselves at a still earlier date to make room for a brand-new font of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century workmanship.

In 1845 the bowl was discovered, and Dr. Wilberforce, before he became Bishop of Oxford, was instrumental in again securing it for its sacred use. For a time it found a home in Longdon Church; but in 1870 Miss Strickland of Apperley Court discovered an upright carved stone a mile and a half from Deerhurst. This stone was believed to be the stem of the ancient font, as it fitted the bowl so well that it would be indeed strange if they had no connection with each other. Miss Strickland presented a new font to Longdon Church, the ancient font was returned to Deerhurst, and once again the parish priest of Deerhurst could baptize the children of his parishioners in their old one.[1]

The bowl consists of a block of rather coarse-grained oolite, probably from the neighbouring Cotswold Hills, tub-shaped in form, and the outer surface covered with ornamented sculpture. In examining interlacing ornament on fonts we must not forget that it is never a proof of Saxon work unless it is of a highly specialized character known to occur at an early date. In the case of the Deerhurst font it is not likely that any Norman craftsman could have produced work so characteristically pre-Conquest as this, even if he had cared to do so. The pattern on the bowl and on a portion of the stem consists of spiral lines running off and conjoining with other spirals, forming an endless pattern. Professor Westwood states that "the most characteristic of all Celtic patterns is that produced by two or three spiral lines starting from a fixed point, their opposite ex-

[1] Total height without step (not including 4 or 5 in. let into step), 3 ft. 5 in. Diameter across the top, 2 ft. 4½ in.

tremities going off to the centre of coils formed by other spiral lines. Instances in metal-work of this pattern occur in several objects found in Ireland and in different parts of England; in stone it occurs only, as far as we are aware, on Deerhurst font. As it does not appear in MSS. executed in England after the ninth century, we may conclude that this is the oldest ornamented work in the country."[1] Mr. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., writes that "there are two distinct forms of spiral patterns used in Celtic art: the earlier, where the band of which the spiral is formed gradually expands into a trumpet-shaped end; and the later, where the band of which the spiral is formed remains the same breadth throughout the whole length. The first of these forms is copied direct from the metal-work of pagan times."[2] The Deerhurst spirals are of the later type. Professor Westwood could not say whether the Irish in the first instance received their styles of ornament from the early British Christians, or whether it was in Ireland that they originated. He suggests, however, that Byzantium and the East may have offered the ideas which early Celtic Christian artists developed in the retirement of their monasteries, as it is known that the British and Irish missionaries were constantly travelling to the Holy Land and Egypt. The Bishop of Bristol, whose knowledge of Celtic ornamentation is very great, says that this famous font "has the same remarkable combination of unmistakable Irish work with work of a diametrically opposite character—an elegant classical arabesque. For the Irish influence Maildubh's presence may afford a sufficient explanation; for the other parts of the artistic work I am disposed not to look to Anglican or any other home influence, but to look boldly to the foreign source, as I believe, of the beautiful work of the Northumbrian Angles, and to look to that source at a date which gives

[1] *Grammar of Ornament* (*Celtic*), p. 95.
[2] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1883–4*, pp. 253–308.

FONT, HARESFIELD.

FONT, FRAMPTON-ON-SEVERN.

to our Wessex art a great antiquity."[1] He argues that Birinus, with his Lombardic connection, baptized the King of Wessex at the Oxford Dorchester in 635, and, the Northumbrian Oswald being by chance at the court at the time, having come for his bride, the king's daughter. Birinus would naturally establish at once a certain amount of religious pomp and apparatus: and that it would be like in style to that to which he had been accustomed in his home in North Italy, presumably with some blending of the kind of ornament which he found in popular acceptance among his flock. The Bishop of Bristol reminds us that Deerhurst is on the Severn, and that the influence which gave Italian and Irish work to the district south of Malmesbury may conceivably have extended across the border to a distance not so great. "If that is not the explanation of the Deerhurst font," says the bishop, "it remains a coincidence which demands an explanation, that the two examples on a considerable scale of this most un-English pattern are found on either side of the great Wessex monastery of Aldhelm, founded by an Irishman."[2]

Although the most characteristic of Celtic art is the absence of foliage, yet there are examples existing of diverging spirals and foliage on the same stone. The famous stone at St. Vigean's has been dated A.D. 729, and is described as a foliaceous scroll with lanceolate leaves and a triplet of fruit alternately on either side of the wavy stem. This description reminds us of the scroll-work on the Deerhurst font, although it does not represent the same fruit. The Ruthwell cross, in Annandale, was made by Cædmon, and he died in A.D. 680. Here again is an instance of diverging spirals and foliage, which represent running scrolls depicting a vine with its branches alternately recurved. If the Bishop of Bristol's conjecture is correct, then the Deer-

[1] *The Life and Times of St. Aldhelm*, p. 177.
[2] *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 272.

hurst font is a little earlier than the Ruthwell cross. The early date assigned to the Deerhurst font by so eminent a scholar as the Bishop of Bristol forces us to ask the pertinent question whether stone fonts existed in England at that date. We hesitate to give any definite reply; but we feel that there is much force in the contention that these ancient Saxon fonts may have been originally constructed for well-covers.[1] If well-covers were in use in early times in England, as we know they were in Italy, and were used for holy wells in which persons were baptized, may not the Deerhurst font in its present condition consist of the covering stones, or well-heads, of two of these holy wells? The Deerhurst bowl does not appear ever to have been lined with lead, and originally it had no hole at the bottom to draw off the water, which seems to have been drained off at the side. These facts favour the theory that this famous font may have consisted of two well-heads.

There are nine leaden fonts in Gloucestershire; and this is a large percentage for one county, seeing there are only thirty in the whole of England and Wales. These bowls are either circular or tub-shaped, and those of an earlier date possessed covers. Several still retain the markings to which the locks were attached, for by the constitution of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1236), fonts were required to be covered and locked.

Six of these bowls were all made in the same mould.[2]

[1] See "Saxon Baptismal Font in Deerhurst Priory Church," by Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A. (*Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi. p. 89). The author of this learned paper draws attention to an illustration of a stone object somewhat resembling the upper part of the Deerhurst font, in the Cotton MS. (Nero, C. iv.) in the British Museum, entirely ornamented with spirals, which is not a font, but a well-cover. Mr. Hudd also draws attention to the so-called "Saxon Font" in South Hayling Church, Hampshire, which was probably a well-cover. "All four pieces are ornamented with geometrical figures of early character, among which divergent spirals are clearly visible."

[2] Frampton-on-Severn, Lancaut, Oxenhall, Sandhurst, Siston, and Tidenham.

Font, Slimbridge.

The decoration is in *alto relievo*, and consists of a band of foliage at both the top and the bottom. An arcade surrounds the bowl, containing alternately figures and scrolls, the design being thrice repeated. The two figures, which are doubtless intended to represent our Saviour, are vested in richly ornamented robes, and are seated on thrones. The first holds a sealed book in the right hand, and the left is upraised in benediction; the second figure also raises the left hand in the act of blessing, but the right grasps a book which has had the seal removed from it. The late Dr. Ormrod says: "The dress, and particularly the beards, of the figures, the decoration of the thrones, the ornamental foliage and the scrolls will more probably be referred to the Saxon era. As far as the coarser execution will allow the comparison, they very much resemble the delineation given in the *Benedictional* of St. Æthelwold. The figure with the sealed book in particular resembles the representation of the Trinitas in that volume, excepting a difference in the composition and adaptation of the nimbus."[1] Dr. Ormrod was of opinion that these fonts were constructed about the year A.D. 960. This is far too early a date to ascribe to them, and on careful examination of the arcade it will be noticed that the shafts are richly adorned with chevron, cable and sunk pellet mouldings, while the arches, capitals, bases and spandrels are all adorned with ornamentation. The figures with their knees spread wide apart may have deceived Dr. Ormrod, for he considered they belonged to the Anglo-Saxon period. The date which he assigned to these fonts is certainly a hundred—or possibly one hundred and fifty—years too early, and we believe that Dr. Cox and Dr. Harvey are correct when they state[2] that these fonts are of early Norman date, and belong to a period prior to 1100. Mr. Francis Bond points out it is a leading prin-

[1] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 87.
[2] *English Church Furniture*, p. 199.

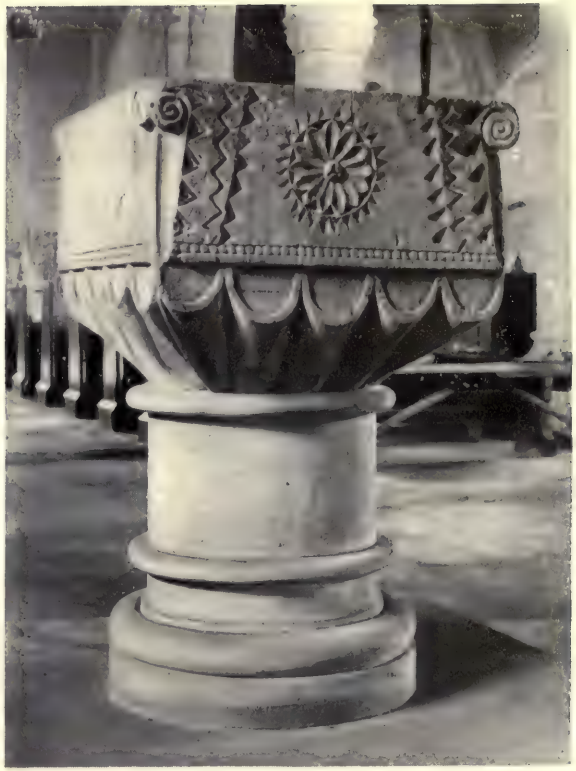
ciple in archæology that an object must be dated, not by the evidence of early work, but by that of late work seen on it; and an art in which moulds are long employed goes on perfecting ancient patterns. Mr. Francis Bond considers that these fonts are not likely to be earlier than the closing years of the twelfth or the early years of the following century, and in any case such a pre-Conquest date as has been assigned by Dr. Ormrod is quite out of the question.

The fonts at Lancaut and Sandhurst are smaller than the others, having only eleven and ten arcades respectively. Lancaut Church, which is situated on the banks of the river Wye, is now a ruin; but the leaden bowl is carefully preserved by Sir William H. Marling, Bart., at Sedbury Park.

It seems probable that these eleventh-century bowls were all cast from the same mould in the usual way. The sheet, with the decorated portion to the outside, would be bent into a tub-shaped vessel, lead being such a malleable metal when not specially hardened with tin and antimony. The joinings of the two parts would be covered with a seam. Some later leaden bowls possess two or even more seams, which indicate that they were made in either two or more pieces. The figures and ornaments are often facsimiles, and in these cases it is very probable that a single pattern was first carved in wood and then impressed on the sand-mould as often as required. Mr. Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A., in his recent book on *English Leadwork*,[1] remarks that the existence of these six fonts all cast from the same mould is a pleasant example of the stock pattern of the twelfth century. Where casting in metal is concerned, it seems a reasonable method to encourage repetition, as it enables a greater amount of thought and effort to be expended on the original pattern than is economically possible when only one object is made. The Norman

[1] Page 5.

FONT, THORNBURY.



FONT, WESTERLEIGH.

craftsman evidently did not fear to scatter replicas of his lead font once he was satisfied, as he might well be, with the original pattern. If six examples have existed for about 800 years, it is reasonable to suppose that there were originally two or three times six made from the one pattern. Alas! the greatest enemy of lead fonts has been the intrinsic value of the material, and it is probable that many disappeared during the civil wars, as they could so easily be turned into bullets.

The decoration of the Haresfield font is paradoxical, and raises a somewhat difficult question of date. The ornamentation has led to various conjectural dates being assigned to its construction. The bowl is adorned with twenty-two pointed arches having cuspings. These arches rest on shafts formed of some twenty-six beads. Round the centre and at the bottom of the bowl are bands of ornament composed of quatrefoils and triangles placed in squares. Now the arcading has the character of fourteenth-century work, while the buttoned vertical shafts suggest the seventeenth. Authorities are consequently perplexed as to the date of this font; but as the cuspings can hardly be post-Gothic, and as there are instances of such turned shafts being used in fourteenth-century woodwork, the earlier date is more probable to be the correct one.[1]

The leaden bowl at Slimbridge is decorated quite in the manner employed to adorn cisterns, with date (1664), initials, pilasters and rosettes. At Down Hatherley the font is small, but the ornament is ambitious. Round the bottom there runs a band of Tudor cresting, which might well have been used, and probably was used, says Mr. Lawrence Weaver, to decorate rain-water heads. The stars are of a type familiar on London cisterns, and the lozenges are of a pleasant formality.

The Haresfield font appears in some lists as being composed of bell metal, but incorrectly, as a chemical

[1] *Arch. Jour.*, vol. lxv. p. 287.

analysis of a small fraction demonstrates that it is made of lead. However, pewter fonts are not unknown, and Professor Church found one at Cirencester of thirteenth-century design.

In some few instances Roman altars have been converted into fonts. The square font at Staunton is frequently designated as belonging to this class. It has been suggested that the confusion has arisen because a Roman altar is preserved in the vestry at Tretire. It is true that this primitive-looking font is more cubical than most Roman altars, yet it is not impossible that the men who built the Norman church at Staunton found a Roman altar, or more probably a Roman stone used in the rough as building material,[1] and after carving some decoration upon it converted it into a font for their new church. According to the late Sir John Maclean, the ornamentation on this very ancient font is similar to that on the abacus of a Norman capital in the church of the adjoining parish of English Bicknor.[2] We are inclined to favour the theory that this stone was once a Roman altar, converted into a baptismal font at a later date, and ornamented in Norman times.

The ancient font in Chester Cathedral is of foreign workmanship, and was presented by the late Duke of Westminster. Such gifts are rare, and, with the exception of the Tournai bowls, most of our fonts have been made in England. Quite recently, however, the church of St. John the Baptist, The Lea, has been enriched by a white marble sculptured bowl and elegant pedestal of considerable antiquity. This beautiful gift was purchased from a London dealer, who received it direct from Italy. The richly sculptured bowl was originally a holy-water stoup, possessing no drain; but it has now been re-dedicated, and in the future will serve as a font

[1] Such stones are found when excavating Roman towns, and many blocks have been unearthed at Caerwent.

[2] *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, vol. v. p. 28.

for the rite of Baptism. The pillar rests on the back of an elephant, having a cloth with an inlay of mosaic similar to one round the top of the bowl, while the capital consists of the heads of four rams, with horns entwined, placed on a wreath of leaves. The elegant carving of the bowl, the elephant, and the geometrical inlay all indicate that this was an eleventh-century stoup, and was probably brought from the Adriatic side of southern Italy.

Gloucestershire contains more than forty fonts which may be classed under the heading of Norman. Some are constructed like the Corinthian capital, the undivided cushion capital and, later, the scalloped capital. The first of these is usually assigned to the eleventh century, while the scalloped patterns have a range of a century or more. In England the water-leaf capital, when found on fonts, may be dated about 1190. The scalloped capital forms the whole bowl of the font at St. Philip's, Bristol, and the paint on it has been scraped off; hence its modern appearance. This form of Norman font is also to be seen at Alveston, Almondsbury and Dryham.[1]

One of the most beautiful Norman fonts is at Westerleigh. It is a rectangular bowl, richly ornamented in low relief with geometrical patterns. Leckhampton font is also early in the same period. Newnham possesses a large circular Norman bowl, sculptured with arcading containing figures; somewhat similar in design is the restored font at Mitcheldean. Thornbury is an interesting specimen of the beginning of the early English style, and it has been so well appreciated that at a much later date it has served as a model for a new font for All Saints' Church, Bristol. The font at Southrop is very late Norman, and is a variant of the interesting one at Stanton Fitzwarren, Wiltshire. The bowl is richly ornamented in arcaded panels filled with figures representing the virtues. These are armed knights

[1] *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi. p. 91.

trampling on the vices. Above each virtue is its name, while the name of each vice is written backwards and vertically: for example, we find *Paciencia* flagellating *Ira*, who is represented as an armed knight with sword and target; and *Largitas* trampling on *Avaricia*, holding on his left arm a long, kite-shaped shield; *Temperancia* trampling on *Luxuria*, *Misericordia* trampling on *Invidia*, etc. Early English fonts are well represented, and there are several of the Decorated period; for example, Charlton Kings and Elkstone. Perpendicular fonts are also fairly numerous, as at Yate, Old Sodbury and Fairford.

Some time elapsed before the religious changes at the Reformation affected the font. Church-building, however, slackened, and few new fonts were put up between the reign of Elizabeth and the great Civil War. Some were broken up in the Civil War, and it is probable that Bristol lost most of her fonts at that period, as only three of her churches now possess their ancient ones.[1]

The old order of things returned with the Restoration, and new fonts were set up in place of those that were destroyed. Several of these bear the dates 1660 and 1661; for example, the font at Painswick. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity was passed, and parishes that were then without fonts were obliged to restore or to set up new ones. It was about this time that the leaden bowl at Slimbridge was cast. The Gothic craftsmen had passed away, and the inspiration that had inspired the earlier schools had vanished; yet Gothic fonts were again required at a time when Gothic art was no longer a living power in England. Thus it came about that the pseudo-Gothic fonts of the Restoration were constructed, without the living spirit of Gothic sculpture

[1] St. Philip's, St. Mary Redcliffe, and St. Werburgh's. The font belonging to St. Werburgh's was lost some time before the year 1877, and it was discovered in a garden near Keynsham in 1905 doing duty as a flower-pot. It is now again restored to the church.

Font, St. Philip's, Bristol.

Font, St. John the Baptist, The Lea.

dominating the men who carved and designed them. Some of these destroyed fonts were replaced by those of the chalice type. These elegant fonts originated with the quatrocento artists of Italy, and the form connected in most beautiful symbolism the two great sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. Many of the Renaissance fonts are of stone, some are of marble and a few of alabaster, like the one in the Weaver's Chapel in the Temple Church, Bristol.

A few churches possess two fonts. A correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, describing Cirencester Church as seen in 1749, says: "Here is a stone pillar and two fonts: an old one of stone, standing upon a pillar, and a new one of marble, erected by the contribution of several gentlemen of that town, which is constantly used." In Bristol, the churches of St. Werburgh, the Temple and St. Mary Redcliffe each possess an ancient font and one of a comparatively modern date. In the case of the last-named church, the original font was built against one of the pillars of the nave arcade at the time when that portion of this most beautiful church was erected. It is remarkable that such a plain font with little elevation should have been constructed at a time when the pedestals were being elongated and raised on a flight of steps, in the desire to increase the dignity and impressiveness of the sacrament of Baptism.

It is probable that the cruets containing the holy oils and that containing the salt, as well as the candle, the ewer, basin and napkin,[1] were kept in the sacristy, for we hear of an "*Olde Clothe of Silk for berin the Crysmatorye to the Ifounte*" being made use of; and we know that at Eastertide there was a solemn procession to the font, in which the chrismatory was carried in a "sudary."[2]

[1] The last three were for the sponsors to wash and dry their hand after taking the child from the font.

[2] In one church the "sudary" was of "red sarcynett," in another of "*green tarterne ffringed with silks on both ends.*"

Thus a stand for the cruets to be placed upon during the ceremony of Baptism would be a convenient appendage to a font. This probably explains the use of the wall niche at Rudford. At Lechlade there is a beautiful elaborate niche in the pillar on the arcade near the font; but in this case it is probable it once held a statuette, and was not made specially to hold the cruets during the service.

In ancient days it was the custom in English churches to retain the hallowed water in the font for a considerable time. Unfortunately, however, this hallowed water was considered to be of great use for black magic, and was frequently stolen. So in 1220 the Bishop of Durham[1] ordered that fonts should be kept locked under seal, on account of the liability of the water being stolen for these illicit purposes. Sixteen years later Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, gave similar directions, and desired that the water should be changed at least once a week. In the first English Prayer Book it was ordered that "the water in the Fonte shal be chaunged every moneth once at the least"; and the present usage is that the water shall be constantly renewed.

Unlike the eastern counties, Gloucestershire does not possess a wealth of ancient font covers, although the places for the lock and hinges of the cover are still noticeable on many of the ancient fonts. After the Reformation the desire to show honour to the font disappeared for a time. However, in 1558 the churchwardens at Stratton, Cornwall, paid "for a loke to the vonte, vjd"; and inquiries were frequently made of the churchwardens as to whether their font had a decent covering.[2] In the early years of the seventeenth century Bishop Cosin asks: "Whether have you a font of stone,

[1] There is an excellent chapter on "Font Covers" in Mr. Francis Bond's valuable work on *Fonts and Font Covers*.

[2] Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 572 and ii. 139.

with a comely cover, set in the ancient usual place." A number of these post-Reformation font covers still survive, and a particularly fine specimen of Jacobean workmanship is found in St. Philip's Church, Bristol, presented by Andrew Tounsend in 1623. The sides are composed of two tiers of round-headed arches, and on the top are eight scrolls attached to a central shaft holding an urn with a lid composed of foliage and surmounted by a finial.

LEADEN FONT, SANDHURST CHURCH.

AN ESSAY ON THE NORMAN DOORWAYS IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER

By Charles E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A.

Like most parts of England, the county of Gloucester is not sufficiently well known, either for the beauty and variety of its scenery or for the interesting specimens of our typical English architecture which are to be found throughout its length and breadth. Most people have heard of the Cotswold Hills, the source of the many streams which unite to form the Thames, but how few have gone out of the beaten tracks to explore the many secluded valleys, where the villages still possess their ancient churches and manor-houses, built of the excellent stone of the county, and in many instances but little altered since they were first erected. It is here that we look for and find some of the best specimens of the skill of the mason of the twelfth century, and even in the comparatively humble churches, both at the time they were built and still, more than sufficient to accommodate the scanty population, we come across chancel arches and doorways which fill us with wonder as to who were the designers and artificers who were responsible for the depth of the carving and variety of the mouldings of these ancient works of art. It is the object of this essay to deal somewhat comprehensively with one branch of this subject, and to provide the information for those who are interested in it which will enable them personally to visit the best examples of the Norman doorways in the county, and, where there may be any uncertainty, to understand the symbolism employed on these portals by the builders of the twelfth century.

Fig. 1.—ELKSTONE, S

KSTNE, SOUTH DOORWAY.

It is a noteworthy feature of the churches of Gloucestershire that, in the majority of instances, we only find examples of the Norman and Perpendicular styles of architecture. There are very few cases where some traces of the twelfth-century builder cannot be still discerned, and even where drastic restorations have taken place in comparatively recent times, *e. g.* at Stanway, Temple Guiting, etc., enough has been preserved to attest the former existence of a Norman church of more than ordinary importance. No doubt, judging from the excellence of most of the twelfth-century work surviving to our day, the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century builders hesitated to try and improve on the designs of their predecessors, and it was not till the latter part of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth century that we find a wave of rebuilding being carried out throughout the county, and such splendid specimens of the Perpendicular style as those existing at Northleach, Cirencester, Winchcombe, Fairford, and elsewhere, being erected as monuments of the gratitude to Almighty God of the great woolmen and clothworkers for the wealth and prosperity which was at that time bestowed upon them. Of course, we find in other counties very fine churches being constructed at this same time, and due to the same causes, as, for instance, at Burford (Oxon), Newbury (Berks), Holme (Nottinghamshire), Great Ponton (Lincolnshire), etc.

But we must not further diverge from our special subject. As has already been stated, the large majority of the Gloucestershire churches contain some portions of Norman work, and, as shown by the Appendix, there are at least 120 (and this number can probably be considerably augmented) still retaining one or more doorways of this period. Very meagre information is to be obtained about these. Some of the most interesting examples are figured in Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, and most of those with tympana enriched with

figure or symbolical sculpture, in the work recently published by the writer of this article on this special subject. A good many are referred to, and a few described and illustrated, in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society;* but, beyond these, the references are few and far between, so that there seems to be ample room for an essay, which will at any rate communicate to those who care about it the knowledge obtained by one who has personally visited most of the churches in the county, and who has also studied most of the archæological and topographical works to be found in our public libraries.

Most of the principal doorways are within porches, which will account for the good state of preservation in which we still find them. In four instances the porches themselves are of early date. At Daglingworth, where a considerable portion of the church is ascribed to the Saxon period, the south porch, though much modernized, may be a relic of the first structure. The north porch at Tewkesbury Abbey is early Norman, while the south porch at Bishops Cleeve is of late twelfth-century date; and, besides an interesting outer doorway, has a well-moulded arcade along its east and west walls and a parvise above. The south porch of Westcote Church has a late semicircular outer arch.

Many of the doorways have been cruelly churchwardenized, while a few have been altered as far back as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For instance, the great western entrance of Tewkesbury Abbey has been filled in with a very large Perpendicular window, and at Avening, Dumbleton and Hawling certain alterations have been made about the same period. At Ashchurch a fourteenth-century doorway is inserted within the Norman one.

The gateway of St. Augustine's Abbey has been very much altered by Abbot Newland, or Nailheart, and it has been asserted that the very rich Norman work of the

Taunt, Oxford.

Fig. 2.—Deerhurst, West Doorway.

main arches was executed in his time. This, however, seems most improbable, as there is no authenticated example of the pre-Reformation builders having adopted any architectural style except that which was in vogue at the time, and we may assume, therefore, that this is one of the many instances where, in the reconstruction, the ancient work was preserved and worked in, no doubt out of regard to the great merit of the sculpture. Two beautiful arches in the abbey house have similarly been incorporated with the work of the same abbot.

At Bitton a very rich late Norman doorway was, during the fourteenth century, taken down and inserted in its present position on the north side of the tower.

The south doorway of Power Guiting seems to have been moved, reset in the south transept wall, and embellished with a new hoodmould and tympanum. At Churchdown portions of the doorways only are preserved, while at Temple Guiting the Norman work has been almost obliterated, a part of the doorway having been reinserted in the porch wall. At Driffield the present south doorway is new, but a highly ornamented little tympanum is preserved in the wall above. At Condicote parts of the tympanum and lintel of a second doorway, richly carved, are preserved in the south porch, and there are no doubt many examples where, during the course of the restoration of the churches, these relics of the early structures have been discovered. At Duntisbourne Rous and Lassington the doorways are new, but probably intended to be copies of those which have been destroyed. Two very interesting examples now form the entrances to cottages, viz. one at Sherborne, said to have been saved from a chapel which stood close by, and the other at Buckland Fields, reputed to have belonged to the destroyed church of Laverton. Both these doorways are in good preservation, and apparently well cared for.

In articles which have already appeared on the Norman

doorways of Norfolk and Yorkshire, it was pointed out that there were certain distinguishing characteristics in many of the examples remaining in these counties; and so in Gloucestershire we find certain special designs which seem to have commended themselves to the local twelfth-century builders. The doorways in this county are chiefly remarkable for the great variety of the chevron or zigzag moulding, and the depth of the carving of this particular ornament in many of the finest and latest examples. Perhaps those at the Priory Church of Stanley St. Leonard present us with the most excellent specimens, but many more will be noticed which, in our opinion, exceed in this respect any instances to be met with elsewhere. Another and still more striking feature is the large proportion of the doorways with the head of the arch filled in with the solid stone tympanum, in some few instances plain, in many ornamented with transverse lines, the star, scallop and other devices, and in no less than twenty-eight examples with figure or symbolical sculpture. No other county can boast anything like this number: Oxfordshire with seventeen, and Derbyshire with fifteen, coming next. The variety is also considerable. We find one or more crosses on the examples at Beckford (south), Broadwell, Sherborne and Great Washbourne; the Tree of Spiritual Life and Knowledge at Dymock, Kempley, Newnham, Siston, Stratton and Lower Swell; a monster head and foliage at Dumbleton; a lion trampling on two serpents at Ampney St. Mary; two animals, perhaps intended for Adam and Eve, at Stanley St. Leonard; the Triumphal Ride of Our Lord into Jerusalem at Calcot Barn; the Descent into Hell at Beckford (north) and Quenington (north); the Agnus Dei at Gloucester, St. Nicholas, Preston and Upleadon; Our Lord in Majesty at Little Barrington, Elkstone and Eastleach Turville; Our Lord presenting the keys to St. Peter and the book to St. Paul at Siddington; the

Fig. 3.—Horton Manor House, North Doorway.

Coronation of the Virgin at Quenington (south); the contest between St. Michael and Satan at Harnhill and Moreton Valence; St. George and the Dragon at Ruardean; and two figures adoring an ecclesiastic at Tredington. These will all be more fully described later on. At Upper Swell and Brimpsfield is a tympanum, now plain, but the surface is very uneven, and it is probable that some figure or symbolical sculpture has been hacked away. Many of the tympana and lintels have various designs sculptured on them. We find the star ornament at North Cerney, Condicote, Driffield, Ebrington, Power (or Lower) Guiting (south, quite new), Hampnett, Haresfield, Pauntley, Postlip, Stanley Pontlarge, Turkdean and Winstone (south); the hatched, or sawtooth, at Aston Blank and Hampnett; the overlapping scallops or fishscale at Pauntley, Postlip and Shurdington; sunk lozenges at Power Guiting (new) and Stanley Pontlarge; diagonal lines, intersecting and forming a shallow lozenge or diagonal pattern, at Farmington, Haresfield, Hinton on the Green, Saintbury (north and south), and Southerop; and cross lines forming a portcullis pattern at Ebrington. There are numerous instances where the tympana are plain, and generally recessed within the inner order of the arch, viz. at Ashton-under-hill, Aston Somerville, Avening, Berkeley, Buckland Fields, Bulley, Broad Campden, South Cerney (north), Churcham, Clapton, Bishops Cleeve (north transept), Power Guiting (north), Hazelton, Kempsford (north and south), Rangeworthy, Rudford, Stoke Orchard, Syde (north and south), Twining, Winstone (north), Withington (north), and Yanworth. At Bibury the tympanum is also plain, but has been cut out into the form of a trefoil.

There are several examples of interior doorways opening to steps leading up to the towers or turrets, as at Tewkesbury, Bishops Cleeve, Kempley, Elkstone, etc. At Sapperton, on the east side of the north transept, is

a small, shouldered, arched doorway opening into a newel staircase leading up to a former Norman tower. There is a band of beaded cable on the abacus on the north side. Several of the finer doorways have some ornamental moulding on the interior arch as well as on the outer one.

There are a few instances, as at St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, where the lintel only remains, the tympanum having been destroyed.

In a few instances there is a niche above the doorway contemporary with the arch below. At Deerhurst, over the west doorway, is a mutilated figure, probably of Christ in Majesty, within a niche, possibly of pre-Norman date. At South Cerney, over the south doorway, is a semicircular arched recess, and within it is a portion of a sculpture portraying the Descent into Hell, and Christ in Majesty. At Stanley St. Leonard, over the main north doorway, a niche has been similarly filled in with a carved stone, the subject on which is probably the Last Supper, though this is not quite clear.

Some of the doorways have the shafts moulded into ornamental designs, chiefly with the cable and chevron ornaments, as at Avening, Berkeley Castle, Condicote, Kempsford and Wootton, and on the arch of the gateway of St. Augustine's Abbey at Bristol. At Little Barrington the shafts are keel shaped, and at Ebrington and Eastleach Turville, octangular instead of cylindrical. In several examples the jambs are ornamented, as at Barnwood, Little Barrington, Beckford (south), South Cerney (south), Kempsford (south), Eastleach Turville, Quenington (north), Lower Swell, Upleadon, and Windrush.

The practice of carving small crosses on the jambs or arches does not seem to have been so prevalent in Gloucestershire as in some other counties; indeed, we have only noted these votive crosses, as we venture to term them, in a few instances, *e. g.* on the jamb of the

Fig. 4.—Gloucestershire Cathedral., Chapter House Doorway.

Fig. 5.—Bristol, St. Augustine's Gateway, North.

south doorway at Ampney St. Peter's Church, and at Brimpsfield, Coates and Elkstone, though, no doubt, they are to be found elsewhere.

Some of the doorways have a monster head at the apex of the dripstone, or hoodmould, viz. at Barnwood, Little Barrington, Buckland Fields, Dumbleton, Kempsford (south), Quenington (north), and Siddington. It is singular that these probable representations of the evil one should be introduced in this situation, and the intention was no doubt to frighten irreverent worshippers. For the same reason we find the hoodmoulds at South Cerney (south), Bishops Cleeve (west and south), Compton Greenfield, Deerhurst, Stanley St. Leonard (north), and Withington (south), terminating on large dragons' or demons' heads. The whole of the hoodmould of the south doorway at Bishops Cleeve is moulded into two dragons, whose tails are interlaced at the apex of the arch.

Most of the ornamental mouldings associated with the Norman period are to be found on the Gloucestershire arches. By far the most common and the most varied in its treatment is the chevron or zigzag, and, as has already been stated, this is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the doorways in the county, and will shortly be noted in the detailed description of the several examples. The billet is fairly common, though we do not find it so general as in the eastern counties. The lozenge pattern only occurs in seven instances, while the embattled or frette, one of the most effective ornaments, is only to be found over the south entrance at Bishops Cleeve (there are examples of it on the interior arches of the same church, and round the east window at Elkstone). At Compton Greenfield is a more elaborate form of the frette, similar to that at Canterbury and Barfreston, while the diamond frette is represented at Bitton and on the south porch at Bishops Cleeve. The star ornament was a favourite form of ornamentation,

and besides the several examples mentioned on the tympana, excellent specimens occur on the arches at Great Washbourne, Lower Swell, and Hawkesbury, and on the abacus and down the jambs of the north doorway at Quenington. Several doorways—*e. g.* Quenington (north) and South Cerney—are ornamented with roses, the west doorway at Bishops Cleeve with lilies, that at Ozleworth with sexfoils. The nailhead ornament is not common, but there are several instances of rows of large pellets, the arch at Postlip Chapel being a good example. The dogtooth ornament, which we chiefly associate with the early English period, is found on the late doorways at Little Barrington and Thornbury. The hatched, or sawtooth, and indented designs do not seem to have been much in favour. A series of beaded circles, sometimes linked together, occur at Beckford (south), Farmington and Aston Blank, and on fragments of former doorways at Ashchurch and Upper Slaughter. There are six examples of the quaint beakhead ornamentation, viz. at Sherborne, where they are not very clear, and at Quenington (south), South Cerney, Elkstone, Siddington, and Windrush, all of these being excellent specimens of this widely-diffused decorative moulding, the significance of which is still open to various interpretations, though the contention that it refers to the devil and his angels in the parable of the Sower seems most worthy of acceptation. The roll, or torus moulding is comparatively common, and occurs both in early examples, as at Hawkesbury, Winstone, etc., and in later ones, as on the gateway of St. Augustine's Priory, Bristol. The cable ornament chiefly occurs on the shafts, but there are good examples in the arches at Beckford, Condicote, etc. Several examples of trellis or intersecting bands occur, chiefly on the tympana, but the most elaborate are to be found on the several arches of St. Augustine's gateway and two arches leading to the abbey house, and some voussoirs collected

Fig. 6. – Bristol, St. Augustine's Gateway, South.

Fig. 7.—Bristol, St. Augustine's Priory. "The Abbot's Lodgings."

in the churchyard, on the south side of Bristol Cathedral. Good specimens of the pellet and bead ornaments are also to be met with.

Many of the doorways are of late date, but we do not find any of the transitional period with the Norman ornaments and pointed arches, so commonly occurring elsewhere in England. The doorways at Little Rissington, Thornbury, Little Barrington, Colne St. Aldwyn, Old Sodbury, and Ozleworth belong to quite the end of the twelfth century, but all have the semicircular arch.

As has already been stated, there are not many doorways remaining of pre-Norman date. The south doorway at Daglingworth has a plain arch resting on square imposts, with a double cable pattern on the upper part; above it is a square stone, on which, within a circle, is a sundial, with crosses at the termination of the lines marking the main hours. The outer arch of the porch, with massive abacus, may also be of early date.

At Duntisbourne Rous, parts of the church are undoubtedly of very early date, and the south doorway has a plain triangular arch and jambs. There has been much renovation here, and it is doubtful how much of the work is really old. At Miserden the arches of the north and south doorways are preserved in the wall, above the present much later entrances; on the south the arch has a plain masonry strip resting on an abacus moulded into three half-rounds on each side. On the north is the head of another arch, narrower than that on the south, with the masonry strip for the hoodmould and plain order supported on an abacus of similar character to that on the south side. Both these are probably of pre-Norman date.

At Deerhurst, where the church has some undoubted Saxon work, there are traces of the original west doorway, with large mutilated head above. There is a central wall to the tower, and in this is a doorway of

early character, with plain arch and hoodmould (Fig. 2), terminating on monster heads on its eastern face. Above, on the west side, is a semicircular-headed niche containing a nimbed figure in long vestments, and holding a vesica-shaped object against the breast. The feet rest on a stool supported on three low shafts. The figure has been much mutilated, but probably is intended to represent Christ in Majesty. In the east wall of the north aisle is a blocked, square-headed doorway, with chamfered lintel, and between the north aisle or chapel and nave is a triangular-headed arch, with massive chamfered abacus, now blocked up. Farther west is another plain doorway, and two more of similar character between the nave and south aisle. On south side of north aisle is another blocked doorway, with hoodmould terminating on dragons' heads and large mutilated head at the apex and massive, plain arch and jambs.

At the Grange Chapel, Deerhurst, is a plain arch, somewhat renewed, but with long and short work on the jambs.

There are two domestic buildings where the Norman doorways still remain. In the keep of Berkeley Castle, at the top of the main staircase, is a large arch with two courses of zigzag on the hoodmould, and then several courses of outturned zigzag on the principal order. On the right side is a chamfered abacus, resting on a small shaft ornamented with the trellis pattern, and with large capital, terminating on a plain impost about three feet from the ground. The arch has been filled in with masonry; a small semicircular doorway, with plain, chamfered edge to the arch and jambs, and a row of corbels above within it, now forms the entrance. On the interior side the inner arch is triangular-headed, the outer has a segmental-headed hoodmould ornamented with raised lozenges, and bold zigzag above the jambs; over an archway in the next storey is a portion of a hoodmould ornamented with small pellets and zigzag.

Fig. 8.—Stanley St. Leonard's, West Doorway.

At Horton, part of the old manor-house is of Norman date, with a good north and south doorway, originally exactly alike, but the south doorway has had the hood-mould and outer part of the abacus shaved off. The north doorway (Fig. 3) has a groove and fluting on the hoodmould, then the bold outturned zigzag, with smaller zigzag and small roll on either side. The abacus is grooved and chamfered. There is one shaft on each side, with late form of scalloped capital, with a groove on the angle and down each of the shafts. The inner order has a quarter-round moulding to the arch and down the angle of the jambs.

The county of Gloucester, prior to the Reformation, could boast of no less than four mitred abbeys within her borders, and no doubt there was much fine Norman work in the chapels and more important monastic buildings. Of the ancient foundation at Winchcombe nothing now remains above ground, and of the once noble abbey of Cirencester the gateway, with a Norman arch, is almost the only relic. The exterior of the church of the Abbey of St. Peter, now the Cathedral at Gloucester, was much altered in the fifteenth century. The contour of the great south doorway can still be made out, and in the south transept a small segmental-headed doorway, with double billet on the arch, has been preserved. The entrance to the chapter house (Fig. 4) is very fine, with an arch of four reveals; the outer and the third are plain, the second has two courses of bold, outturned zigzag, with deeply recessed zigzag between, and the inner two courses of outturned zigzag, with small zigzag band between and on either side, and a triple engaged roll on the soffit. There is a continuous chamfered abacus, a bold shaft to the second and double engaged shafts to the inner order, with large capitals having varieties of the scalloped ornament. The shafts rest on solid masonry about two feet from the ground. The jambs to the outer and third orders are plain.

At Tewkesbury the great western arch of the Abbey Church is perhaps the finest exterior Norman arch in England. It is sixty-four feet in height and deeply recessed in six orders. It has a plain hoodmould and a roll moulding to each order. The abacus is ornamented with the billet, and there is an engaged shaft to each order, with plain scalloped capital. Within the arch has been inserted the late fifteenth-century west window and the present western entrance to the church. On the north side is a lofty porch, with parvise above. The outer arch has a plain hoodmould and two plain orders on small abacus, and engaged shafts, with small cushion capitals. A stringcourse, with the sawtooth ornament, runs above the arch. The inner arch has four reveals, with the roll moulding supported on engaged shafts, with early cushion and scalloped capitals. The head of the arch is filled in with a plain tympanum and triangular lintel. All this work is very early, and belongs to the date of the rebuilding of the church in the beginning of the twelfth century. There are also remains of two south doorways, and an interior doorway opening to a turret in each transept.

In the ruined chapel of St. Oswald's Priory at Gloucester, a square-headed doorway has been let into the south aisle interior wall, with bold zigzag on face, and soffit and roll on the angle. At Flaxley Abbey, on the east side of the large hall, there is a fine, richly-moulded archway of transitional character, and another smaller doorway farther south.

The north and south arches of the great gateway guarding the precincts of the ancient Augustinian Priory at Bristol furnish us with some of the richest ornamental mouldings of the middle of the twelfth century to be found in this country. The lower part of the gateway and two arches in the precincts are stated to be part of the original foundation of Robert Fitzhardinge in 1142, while the chapter house is at least twenty years later.

Fig. 9. – Beckford, South Doorway.

Fig. 10.—Beckford, North Doorway.

Only the lower part of the gateway is Norman, the upper portion having been built by Abbot Nailheart or Newland about the end of the fifteenth century. The northern arch (Fig. 5), facing College Green, has a later undercut hoodmould, and then a series of interlacing, semicircular arches, those in the centre and at each side resting on small billets, the intermediate ones on leaves. The outer order has three courses of zigzag, each course divided by a sunk roll moulding, on the face and soffit of the arch, and carried down the jambs without imposts to the ground, on the next order is some beaded interlaced work twining round a roll moulding on the face, and another on the soffit, and with a series of small nailheads on the angle, a very elegant and unusual design. To this order is an engaged shaft moulded into a beaded cable pattern, with foliated capital and plain chamfered abacus. The inner order is plain, with an engaged half-round to the arch and down the jambs. There is a smaller side archway to the west of the principal one, with a hoodmould similar to that of the main arch, and three recessed orders. On the outer a series of interlaced zigzags form a trellis pattern over the whole surface of the arch, the zigzag lines being alternately flat and beaded, and raised and plain. This course has a chamfered abacus, with one shaft on each side enriched with the beaded cable, and with foliage on the capital. The next order has a bold zigzag on either side of an angle roll in arch and down the jambs, without imposts, to the ground. There is a half-round and hollow on the angle of the inner order.

The interior of the gateway is divided into two bays, with rich groining, having the chevron on the ribs, and an arcading of interlacing semicircular arches, enriched with large beads and the cable ornament, and supported on shafts, with varied scalloping on the capitals, along the walls.

The arch on the southern face (Fig. 6) is even finer

than that on the north. It has the same late hoodmould and four recessed orders. On the outer is the beaded interlaced work twining round the shallow roll on arch and soffit, similar to that on the north side; on the next order is a course of lozenges enclosing nailheads on either side of an angle roll; on the next is a series of intersecting zigzag lines forming lozenges, and with leaves, roses and other figures within the outer chevrons on each side; on the inner order is a band of zigzag on the face, a roll on the angle, and two bands of zigzag forming lozenges and enclosing roses, etc., on the soffit. There is a band of zigzag on the inner face of this order, and one more order on the interior side of the arch, with beaded zigzag lines forming a trellis pattern. There is a continuous chamfered abacus and engaged shaft to each order, the outer on each side ornamented with a series of horizontal chevrons, the third with the beaded cable. The inner order has a cluster of three engaged shafts, and the order on the interior side the beaded trellis on the shafts. All have varied forms of scalloping on the capitals. There is a hollow groove carried down the angle of each jamb between the shafts. The bases are large and in three graduated courses to the ground. The side arch on the west side is plain. The whole scheme is very beautiful, the mouldings being unusually rich and elaborately carved. It probably is not earlier than about 1160 to 1170. The gateway was restored in 1886.

In a passage leading to the domestic buildings of the Priory (called the abbot's lodgings) are two doorways of the same date and character as the gateway. The outer arch (Fig. 7) has a band of zigzag on the hood-mould, then on face and soffit the trellis pattern formed by the flat-beaded and plain raised zigzag lines, as on the side arch of the gateway; then on the next order an irregular and peculiar form of zigzag on either side of an angle roll, and then bold zigzag bands on face and

Fig. 11.—Great Washbourn, South Doorway.

Fig. 12.—Dymock, South Doorway.

soffit of the arch. There is a continuous grooved and chamfered abacus, and an engaged shaft to each order, with varied scalloping on the capitals. A late fifteenth-century arch has been inserted within the Norman one, with the shields of Berkeley and Abbot Nailheart on the tympanum. The inner arch is segmental-headed, with a half-round moulding in the head, and carried down the jambs to the ground, then a course of bold zigzag, and then of the interlacing beaded and plain zigzag bands forming the trellis pattern as on the outer arch. There is one engaged shaft to the inner order, with scalloped capital.

The chapter house is well known as one of the most ornate examples of the skill of the Norman builders in this country, with its rich wall arcading and the variety and excellence of its mouldings. It is approached from the cloisters by a vestibule with two rows of arches and with a well-designed stone-groined roof. There are three arches opening to the cloister with a continuous chamfered hoodmould and two orders with the engaged roll on the angle and a row of large beads in a hollow of the soffit of the inner order. They rest on clustered piers, which also support the groining ribs on the east side, with scalloped capitals and chamfered abacus. The inner arcade divides the vestibule into two parts. The arches also have the beading in a hollow on the soffit. The doorway to the chapter house, with a double window within a containing arch on either side, has a plain engaged roll in the arch on each face, and on the interior side a hoodmould enriched with the beaded cable. It is supported on a chamfered abacus, and engaged shaft with plain scalloped capitals.

In the churchyard on the south side of the cathedral are collected numerous fragments of other rich doorways, with roll and nailhead, intersecting zigzags, and beaded medallions joined by bands and forming a chain pattern, a design of beaded loops, lozenges, roses, etc. The

arches to which they belonged must have been of the same elaborate character as those of the gateway and chapter house.

Of the once wealthy Abbey of Cirencester, founded by Henry I, with the exception of one of the entrance gateways, not a stone remains above-ground. The gatehouse belongs to the Norman period, and, like that at Bristol, has a main arch and side entrance. The main arch on the outer side towards the road is much depressed, and has an engaged roll moulding on the hoodmould, and three recessed orders, the two outer with chamfered edge, the inner rounded off. The jambs are plain. The arch on the interior side towards the abbey precincts is exactly the same, but is not depressed, and retains its semicircular form. The side entrance has the engaged roll to the hoodmould, and plain chamfered edge to the arch and jambs. The interior arch has been destroyed. Quite recently has been dug up close to the abbey house a portion of a doorway, with at least two reveals, with champered abacus, and two capitals having a somewhat unusual scroll pattern. In the museum are preserved some fragments found under an old house in the market-place some five or six years ago. They must have formed parts of a very large and ornate arch, presumably a doorway, and were probably removed from the abbey when the buildings were utterly destroyed. There are voussoirs with chevron, pellet and billet ornaments, and portions of shafts moulded into very elegant specimens of the cable, beaded cable and spiral ornaments. The abbey is said to have been very royally and richly endowed, and no doubt its architectural details were of unusual excellence. It was dedicated in the year 1131.

The Priory Church of Stanley St. Leonard, now fortunately preserved as the parish church, is an excellent example of a Norman structure, rather late in the style. It had originally north, south and west doorways, the

Fig. 13.—Siston, South Doorway.

Fig 14.—Dumbleton, North Doorway.

former being the principal entrance, the other two being within the priory precincts, and now closed up. There is also a small tympanum, now inserted in the south wall interior of the chancel, on which "is a grotesque representation, if the interpretation is correct, of the temptation and fall of our first parents. Two large animals are facing each other, one holding the end of the tail of the other in its left fore-paw, while with the right it is offering a circular object, ostensibly the apple, which the second animal seems unwilling to receive. Although one would hardly expect to find so serious a subject treated by a caricature of this kind, yet the general treatment and pose of the figures seem to favour the interpretation which has been hazarded." There is a very bold leaf ornament on the lintel below.

The north doorway within a porch is a very fine example of late Norman work. It has a grooved and chamfered hoodmould, with a series of large billets on the chamfered portion, and large dragons' heads at the terminations. There are three recessed orders, the outer with a double band of zigzag on the face, and bold outturned zigzag on the soffit, the next with deeply recessed and raised outturned zigzag, the inner plain. The abacus is chamfered with the quarter-round moulding on the main upper portion. There are shafts supporting the two outer orders with scalloped capitals, and chamfered edge to the inner jambs, with a small bracket below the abacus. Above the arch is a sculpture of the Last Supper, our Lord seated at a table, with a disciple on either side, under an arch terminating on animals' heads.

The west doorway (Fig. 8), walled up, is equally fine, with grooved and chamfered hoodmould, and large billets set along the chamfer, and large heads, perhaps of monkeys, at the terminations. There are three recessed orders, the outer with two courses of bold outturned zigzag along the face, and one more on the soffit, their points meeting so as to form a series of lozenges

on the angle. There is a smaller zigzag band on either side of the larger chevrons. The next order has the deeply recessed and bold outturned zigzag, and the inner order is plain. The abacus shafts and capitals are similar to those on the north doorway. The south doorway has also been walled up, and has the grooved and chamfered hoodmould terminating on a continuation of the abacus, and two orders, the outer with the deeply recessed and raised zigzag, the inner plain. There is a grooved and chamfered abacus, one shaft to the outer order with scalloping on the east, and two inverted trefoils on the west, capital. The inner jambs are plain.

At Beckford, where the parish church was formerly the church of a small alien priory, are two very fine Norman doorways, somewhat earlier than those at Stanley St. Leonard. The south doorway (Fig. 9), within a porch, has four receding orders. On the outer is a double band of cable; on the next a triple row of raised and recessed zigzag; on the next a double row of bold outturned zigzag, with some bands of smaller zigzag; the inner order has a roll at the angle, and is supported on a head on the west, and an animal on the east, side. The three outer orders rest on a chamfered abacus, with the zigzag cable and leaf ornament on the west side, the east portion being plainer, with a small band of the cable on the central one. The outer order has a triple band of zigzag, partly concealed in the porch wall, carried down the jambs, and there are engaged shafts to the two next orders. All have capitals, variously ornamented with, on the west side, the fleur-de-lis, star, beading, etc., and on the east a Maltese cross, tau or embattled design, etc. There is a small engaged shaft attached to the inner jambs. A mutilated holy-water stoup remains between the two middle shafts on the east side. There is a very interesting sculptured tympanum, with a large cross in the centre, having a bird, probably a dove, perched on the right limb, and a circular disc above the

Fig. 15.—Upleadon, North Doorway.

left. These seem to typify the everlasting peace which will be awarded to those who truly and conscientiously endeavour to conform to the doctrine of the Cross. On either side is a quaint animal in the attitude of adoration; that on left has two eyes, two ears and three horns, that on right two ears and two horns. They have been called hares, but this can hardly be appropriate to these remarkable quadrupeds. Below on the lintel is a cable band, and then a chain of interlacing circles. This is supported on two large brackets projecting from the inner jambs, on each of which are sculptured two curious heads. The north doorway (Fig. 10) has been blocked up and much altered. One order remains with a bold cable band on the angle. There is an engaged shaft, and a quaint corbel head in place of the capital. On the tympanum is a representation of the Harrowing of, or Descent into Hell, as exemplified on the tympanum at Quenington, and at Shobdon in Herefordshire. Our Lord, in the centre, holds in His right hand a cross, pressed into the mouth of a recumbent demon, the head only being portrayed. He has the left hand stretched out over a semicircular object, probably intended for the jaws of Hades, whence a human figure is emerging. On the lintel below is a very pretty leaf, the antique pattern. It is supported by a bracket, on which is sculptured a head, on either side. At Brimpsfield, where the church is also a relic of a small alien priory, is a plain south doorway with a rough tympanum which suggests the probability of some sculpture on the surface in former times. There are four votive crosses on the jambs.

Of the chapel of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene at Wootton, Gloucester, only the chancel has been preserved, the present fine western entrance being the original Norman chancel arch, filled in with modern masonry. In the interior walls of the chancel have been inserted the west and south doorways of the former nave.

The west doorway, now in the south chancel wall, has the grooved and chamfered hoodmould and two recessed orders. On the outer is the bold raised, recessed and raised zigzag, grooved and chamfered abacus, large detached shaft with scalloped capital. The inner order is plain, and encloses a plain recessed tympanum with massive lintel supported on brackets projecting from the jambs on either side. The original south doorway, now let into the west wall, is very fine, with grooved and chamfered hoodmould and two reveals. On the outer order is the raised and recessed zigzag and two bands of zigzag forming lozenges and enclosing pellets on the angle, and zigzag on the soffit. On the inner order is bold recessed and outturned zigzag. There is a plain tympanum and lintel. To the outer order is part of a chamfered abacus and ornamented shaft, that on left enriched with the beaded chevron, that on right with the beaded cable pattern. On the capitals are beaded semicircular arches and very elegant scroll foliage.

As has already been stated, there are numerous churches in the county with fine Norman doorways, and an unusual number of these have tympana filling up the head of the arch, in most cases carved with some kind of ornament, and in no less than twenty-eight instances with figure or symbolical sculpture. As it would be very difficult to describe the doorways generally in chronological order, it will perhaps be most convenient to deal first with those with figure and symbolical sculpture on the tympana, and then draw attention to the finest specimens of those without these distinctive features. In addition to the examples, two at Beckford and one at Stanley St. Leonard, already described, there are twenty-five, varying greatly in the choice and treatment of the subject selected. One of the commonest designs on these tympana is a cross, and, besides the one at Beckford, we find three more instances in Gloucestershire where the cross is the principal feature. At Great

Fig. 16.—Quenington, North Doorway.

Washbourn, over the south doorway (Fig. 11) is an irregular oblong stone, on which is a semicircular row of six-leaved roses within circles and pairs of stars alternately, all with large beads or pellets between each leaf or ray respectively; along the lower part are sixteen large four-rayed stars within sunk panels. In the centre is a large cross within a circle on the surface of the stone, which is cut away between the arms, with a raised beaded circular ornament between each limb. This may be early, though the carving is well and regularly executed. At Sherborne, now forming the entrance to a cottage (No. 88), but reputed to have been brought from an old chapel which stood in the field close by, is a good doorway with chamfered hoodmould having pellets on the main face and sawtooth on the chamfer, then recessed and raised zigzag with pellets between the chevrons on the arch. There is one engaged shaft on each side with a series of beaks or tongues affixed to it from the adjoining jamb, and flat scalloped capital. On the tympanum is a plain Maltese cross in the centre, with a somewhat more ornate cross on either side. Below the tympanum on the lintel is a half-round on the angle and band of indented above. There is an engaged roll down the angle of the inner jambs, with dentils, or perhaps small beakheads, attached to it from the jambs. At the back of the cottage is another doorway, with chamfered hoodmould, plain arch and tympanum. A more elaborate tympanum remains, now inserted over the belfry door on the north side of the tower of Broadwell Church. Round the semicircular portion we find a series of beaded interlacing semicircular arches, the spaces within the arches being filled in with trefoiled leaves; along the lower part is the square prismatic billet, with, at either extremity, a small cross within a circle, with pellets or bosses between the arms. In the central recessed part is a Maltese cross with deeply cut circular spaces, each enclosing a large

pellet, at the centre and between the arms; and on either side is a six-petalled rose within a circle.

Another common subject on the Norman tympana is a tree, which, it is suggested, is intended to symbolize the Tree of Spiritual Life and Knowledge, and no less than six examples of this subject have been noted in Gloucestershire. At Newnham-on-Severn a mutilated tympanum, with a tree with spreading branches sculptured on it, is lying about loose in the church. At Kempley, where are the most interesting mural paintings of the Norman period yet discovered in England, is a fine Norman south doorway, much obscured by the timber-work of the porch. It has a plain hoodmould, several rows of zigzag in the arch, massive shafts and early foliated capitals. A double row of pellets is carried round the semicircular portion of the tympanum, in the centre of which is a large tree with graceful foliage. At Dymock is another fine doorway, probably designed by the same architect, and very similar to that at Kempley. It is on the south side (Fig. 12), and has a course of nailheads on the hoodmould; on the outer order are two rows of bold raised zigzag, with recessed zigzag between. Plain inner order enclosing the tympanum, on which is a double row of pellets round the semicircular portion, and in the centre a tree with graceful foliage. The abacus is chamfered with nailheads and a zigzag band along the main portion. There are engaged shafts to the outer order with scroll on the capitals, and engaged shafts without capitals to the inner order. At Siston is a somewhat late south doorway (Fig. 13). It has an outer course of a drawn-out zigzag pattern, then a half-round and three courses of bold outturned zigzag, separated by smaller bands of zigzag. A plain inner order encloses the tympanum. The abacus is chamfered with bands of the star ornament and double quarter round on the main portion. There is one massive shaft on each side to the outer

Fig. 17.—Quenington, South Doorway.

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Fig. 18.—Siddington, South Doorway.

order with large capital ornamented with a late form of scalloping, a band of chevron below the east, and of beaded cable below the west. There are claws to the bases. A band of the beaded star is carried down the angle of the inner jambs. The tympanum is of irregular shape, and may be earlier than the arch which encloses it. A row of rings or flat hollow pellets and a cable band are carried round the semicircular portion. In the centre is a very conventional tree with a main shoot and two branches on either side, each terminating in a trefoil leaf. On the lintel is a zigzag pattern and four medallions, each enclosing three leaves. At each extremity is a curious cross, similar to the votive crosses so commonly found on the jambs of the Norman doorways, with a circle enclosing a bead at the end of each arm. On the interior side of the doorway a band of the star is carried round the arch and down the east jamb. Parts of the north doorway, now blocked up, also remain, with double half-round on the arch, and two rows of stars on the lintel.

The south doorway of Lower Swell Church is very spacious and of early date. It has two half-rounds on the hoodmould and three recessed orders. On the outer is a hollow and roll on the angle; on the middle a double band of cable on the angle. The inner order is filled in, the upper part being plain, but a double row of star, forming the ornamental star, is carried round the arch and down the jambs to the ground. This encloses the tympanum, most of the surface being now plain. Near the centre is a small tree with top and two main branches on either side. A bird is plucking the fruit on the lower branch on the east side. There are massive engaged shafts to the two outer orders. These have cushion capitals and bands below. The bases rest on plinths a foot above the ground. There is a chamfered abacus to the outer orders. At Stratton the tympanum has been preserved, and inserted over the south door-

way. On it is a tree with branches covering the whole surface. In the midst "is an animal on either side of the tree, that on the left having four ears or horns, giving it the appearance of being crowned. Between each animal and the tree is a serpent, evidently attempting to prevent its obtaining the spiritual nourishment it is in quest of." On the lintel are three rows of the star, forming the ornamental star pattern.

Over the north doorway of Dumbleton Church (Fig. 14), which has been partly filled in by a late fifteenth-century arch, is a very curiously sculptured tympanum. "The arch is a fine and lofty one, with a quaint monster head at the apex, and quarter-round and bold outturned zigzag on the arch. This encloses the tympanum, which measures about sixty-eight by thirty-four inches. Round the semicircular part we find a series of saltires within square compartments, formed by shallow incised lines, and along the lower portion a band of large raised lozenges. Enclosed within a frame is a curious sculpture in *alto relievo*, viz. a human head with the ears of an ass, and with three sprigs of foliage, each with three leaves, coming from the mouth. Starting from below the ears on either side is an irregular circular wavy border surrounding the sprigs of foliage. It is not uncommon to find on the Norman capitals heads with foliage proceeding from the mouth. The interpretation is somewhat uncertain. In the instance at Dumbleton the head appears to be intended to portray a demon, and the three sprigs the manifold forms of evil which he is capable of spreading abroad. Subjects of this kind, calculated to terrify careless or indifferent worshippers, are often to be noticed, particularly over the north doorways of the Norman churches."[1]

At Ampney St. Mary's (or Ashchurch—not Eastington, as it has been erroneously named) is a blocked-up north doorway with plain jambs and a curious tym-

[1] *British Archæological Association Journal*, xiv. (new series), p. 258.

Fig. 19.—Moreton Valence, North Doorway.

Fig. 20.—Ruardean, South Doorway.

panum. This is not semicircular, but is in the form of five sides of an irregular semi-octagonal figure. On it is sculptured, on west and upper part of centre, a large lion, with slender legs, mane, and a bunch at the end of the tail, and on the east a griffin. The lion is trampling on two serpents, with large circular, perhaps human, heads, coiled up and with their tails dying into and becoming a roll moulding on the verge of the lintel. The griffin is pecking the eastern one. The interpretation is fairly obvious.[1]

At the well-known Calcot Barn, in the parish of Newington Bagpath, is preserved a small semicircular stone, fifteen inches by ten inches. It has been broken into four pieces, and the figures on it are not very clear. One riding can be discerned on the right-hand side, with others behind it; and it has been suggested that here we have a representation of our Lord's triumphal ride into Jerusalem—a subject portrayed on the tympanum at Aston Eyre, Shropshire, on a capital of the central tower arch at Southwell Minster, and elsewhere. This interpretation may be accepted, though it has the appearance of Roman, not Norman, workmanship.

The Agnus Dei with cross, symbolizing the Crucifixion, and perhaps also the Resurrection, of Christ, is often represented on the Norman tympana, and three examples remain in Gloucestershire, where it forms the central feature of the design, in two instances over the north doorway. At Preston, near Ledbury, the north doorway, within a porch, is early, with plain arch, jambs and lintel. On the recessed tympanum is a large "Agnus," facing east, as is invariably the case, and supporting a Maltese cross on a stem on the left forefoot. At St. Nicholas, Gloucester, the south doorway has three courses of outturned zigzag, and three smaller

[1] On the tympanum of the north doorway of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, Ireland, is a lion similarly trampling on two serpents, and being attacked by a small figure of Sagittarius.

bands of the same on the outer order, and plain inner order and lintel enclosing the tympanum. There is some lozenge ornament on the abacus. On the tympanum in the centre under a plain semicircular arch is the Agnus Dei with cruciform nimbus, supporting the cross and banner on the left fore-foot. On either side of the arch is a tree with beaded scroll foliage. The north doorway at Upleadon (Fig. 15) is one of the finest in the county. There is a stringcourse carried round the upper part of the arch as a hoodmould, and ornamented with large billets. On the hoodmould proper is a band of zigzag, with small zigzag on either side; then on the outer order a beaded cable, and double course of outturned zigzag, with small zigzag band between and on either side. This rests on a chamfered abacus, with a series of single leaves on the chamfer, and is supported on a detached shaft, with, on the east capital, a head on the angle and animal on either side, on the west a late form of scalloping. There is a plain inner order and lintel enclosing the tympanum, and a series of roses or pellets down the inner jambs. On the tympanum, which is recessed, is in the centre, within a circular beaded cable border, the Agnus Dei, supporting a plain cross on a stem on its left fore-leg. On either side of the circular medallion is a quaint-looking animal, probably intended for a lion, that on the east with long twisted tail and paw extended towards the Agnus, that on the west with a trefoil leaf at the end of its tail, and holding a head in its fore-paws. The arch mouldings are very well carved, and cannot be earlier than *circa* 1160.

The church at Quenington was either the chapel of, or closely connected with, the Preceptory of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, founded here by a member of the Lacy family, and is justly celebrated for its two noble doorways, remarkable alike for their dimensions and the variety and excellence of their sculptured details. They were brought to the notice of the

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Fig. 21.—North Cerney, South Doorway.

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Fig. 22.—Turkdean, South Chancel Doorway.

Society of Antiquaries by Samuel Lysons in 1790, and excellent illustrations of them occur in vol. x. of *Archæologia* and elsewhere. Both have suffered somewhat from exposure to the weather, but are now fortunately protected by porches. The north doorway (Fig. 16) is the finer of the two. It has a band of lozenges, with a bead within each on the face, and of roses on the chamfer, of the hoodmould, and a mutilated ram's head at the apex. On the outer order is the recessed and raised zigzag, with an ornamental pellet within each chevron on the angle; on the inner order are three courses of outturned zigzag. On the main face of the abacus is the ornamental star pattern, a cable band on the angle, and prismatic billet below. Down the outer jambs below the hoodmould is a series of eight large eight-leaved roses on each side. Down the centre jambs is continued the recessed and raised zigzag of the outer order, the uppermost voussoir on each side being ornamented with a trellis pattern of intersecting lines. There is one shaft to the inner order, with a human head with foliage coming from the mouth on each capital. The inner jambs supporting the tympanum are enriched with carving, with a series of dentils from the adjoining shafts, then the ornamented star and a row of leaves down the inner side. In the centre of the tympanum, under a semicircular arch with plain capitals, is a representation of the descent of our Lord into Hades, commonly called the Harrowing of Hell. The subject here is rather more elaborately treated than in the example at Beckford. Here we see a figure of our Lord standing over the Prince of Darkness, who is bound and lying prostrate at His feet, and pressing the butt end of the cross into his mouth. Three figures, one, no doubt, intended for Adam, are rising from the fish's mouth, emblematical of the jaws of Hades, while above is the sun, "giving light to our Saviour in the performance of His gracious and merciful mission." The legend is

taken from the spurious Gospel of Nicodemus, and is more fully explained in connection with this doorway in the *Archæological Journal,* lxii. (vol. xii. new series), p. 155. The south doorway (Fig. 17) is also a splendid specimen of Norman masonry. It seems originally to have been larger, the present outer order being considerably broken and damaged. On this is a band of the guilloche pattern, then comes a series of large pellets within detached loops round the arch, and continued without imposts down the jambs to the ground. Next we see on an angle roll a row of beaded labels or tongues and beakheads alternately, except at the apex, where is a group of two beakheads and the heads of a horse and an ox. To this order is a chamfered abacus, with row of beads at the angle, an engaged shaft with foliated capital, and nine of the beaded labels on each side springing from the jambs and attached to the shafts. Round the outer semicircular part of the tympanum is double raised zigzag, with recessed zigzag between, and this is continued without imposts down the inner jambs to the ground. In the centre of the tympanum is a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, one of the very few instances of the Norman period of what afterwards became a most popular subject in ecclesiastical art. On a raised settee are seated our Lord on the east, and the Blessed Virgin Mary on the west, side, He in the act of placing the crown on her head. To the east of Him are the emblems of St. Matthew and St. Mark, an angel with scroll, and a church with several tiers of windows and low dome capped by a cross; to the west, the emblems of St. John and St. Luke and another angel or seraph with four wings. These two doorways date from the end of the reign of King Stephen, and are admirable examples of the taste and skill which the masons had acquired at that period.

We find in Gloucestershire three examples of the subject of Christ in Majesty, so often and appropriately

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Fig. 23.—Condicote, South Doorway.

portrayed on the tympana and elsewhere in connection with the Norman doorways. Let into the north wall of Little Barrington Church is an irregularly shaped tympanum. In the centre is our Lord seated with cruciform nimbus and in the act of giving the Benediction. He is not within a vesica, but a "large angel kneels on either side, one wing of each being extended upwards and forwards, so as to form a canopy above the head of our Lord. On each side between Christ and the angel is a small object, not now discernible." The very beautiful late south doorway will be referred to subsequently. At East Leach Turville the south doorway furnishes us with an excellent example of the chevron or zigzag ornament. On the hoodmould is a triple row of the billet, and on the two recessed orders are numerous courses of the raised and recessed zigzag, those on the inner order being continued without imposts down the jambs to the ground. There is a chamfered abacus to the hoodmould and outer order, with a row of pellets on the chamfered portion. This is supported by one shaft on either side, that on left ornamented with the beaded cable, that on right with the horizontal chevron pattern. The capitals are scalloped with beaded semicircles on the upper part. On the tympanum is, in the centre, our Lord, richly draped and seated on a throne, giving the Benediction with His right, and holding the book of the Gospels in the left, hand. He is within an oval vesica, supported by an angel with outspread wings on either side. No doubt the Ascension, as well as the Majesty, of our Lord is intended to be here portrayed.

At the out-of-the-way but very interesting Norman church of Elkstone (Fig. 1) is another of those Norman doorways of which Gloucestershire folk should indeed feel proud. This is within a porch on the south side of the nave. At the apex is a demon's head, with open mouth and long fangs, attached to the hoodmould, which is in the form of a beaded roll returned at its termina-

tions so as to exhibit the crozier head design. There are three recessed orders. On the outer are two courses of outturned zigzag, with recessed zigzag studded with pellets between. On the middle order is a series of beakheads, etc., on an angle roll, viz. (1) a beaded beakhead, (2) the bust of a demon head downwards, with long arms stretched out and grasping the adjoining beaks, which he is drawing towards him; (3) a beakhead; (4) a beakhead with jagged beak; (5) a human head—? female —or with a cowl; (6) a bearded human head; (7) very large beakhead; (8) at apex, a human head with long leaf or forked tongue; (9) a serpent with large head facing (10) a lion; (11) a monster head with two leaves crossing each other from the mouth; (12) and (13) beakheads; (14) a monster head with two beaks, and (15) a piece of beaded scroll foliage. To these two orders is a grooved and chamfered abacus, and engaged shafts terminating on plinths about fifteen inches from the ground; the outer capitals are scalloped; the inner, on west, has a curious human head, the inner, on east, a human head with two serpents above it. The tympanum is semicircular, but within this, and of a different kind of stone, the chief sculptured part has been inserted. This is on an irregular stone, the half (with five sides) of a ten-sided figure. In the centre is our Lord, with cruciform nimbus, seated on a throne with three tiers of arches. He is bearded, and with long and loose vestments. He has the right hand, emerging from a wide-open sleeve, stretched out and partly raised towards a small figure of the Agnus Dei supporting the cross, while His left supports the book of the Gospels, on which are the initials *A* and *Ω* (alpha and omega). On His right (the west) side is the ox of St. Luke and the angel of St. Matthew behind him, while on His left are the eagle of St. John and the lion of St. Mark below. All have scrolls, and the names Mak, Luc and Johanne can still be made out. They were formerly painted in black. A

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Fig. 24.—EBRINGTON, SOUTH DOORWAY.

pretty scroll foliage pattern is carried round, except above and below the figure of our Lord, springing from the mouth of a large head on the east side. Above the head of our Lord, but on a separate stone, is a left hand with extended fingers, no doubt intended for the *dextera dei*. The tympanum is supported on a shouldered arch, with an engaged roll moulding along the lintel, and carried down the jambs without imposts to the ground.

At Siddington the south doorway (Fig. 18) is very interesting. There is a demon's head with horns at the apex of the hoodmould, which is grooved and chamfered. There are three recessed orders, the outer with the beaded cable, the middle with fifteen quaint beak-heads, etc. The lowest, on the west, has two beaks, one near the apex, with a sort of crown, has two feelers, with which he is grasping and drawing towards him the adjoining beaks. To these orders is a chamfered abacus and two engaged shafts with new capitals, the inner ones with human heads; plain inner order enclosing the tympanum. Here, in the centre, is a figure of our Lord, with cruciform nimbus and rich vestments, seated on a throne and holding a large key, which He is presenting to a kneeling figure with pastoral staff on His right hand, while His left is held out towards another kneeling figure holding a book or charter on His left side. This seems to be a representation of the subject of our Lord presenting the key to St. Peter and the book to St. Paul, as illustrated by the early paintings, now destroyed, at Westmeston in Sussex (see *Sussex Archæological Collection*, vol. xvi., p. 6, pl. 2), and on a sculpture in the pediment over the doorway of Elstow Church, Bedfordshire. An engaged roll moulding is carried along the lintel and down the inner jambs on either side.

The subject of the contest between St. Michael and Satan is twice represented on the tympana of the Norman doorways in Gloucestershire. At Harnhill over the

south doorway is a large oblong tympanum or lintel, and in an article on this subject in the *Archæological Journal*, lxii. (vol. xii. new series), p. 143, the sculpture is thus described: "Here St. Michael is, as usual, on the left, with short tunic coming just below the knees, and long, close-fitting sleeves, sword raised behind his back in the act of striking, and small oval-shaped shield. The dragon is facing him in a recumbent position, with large head and extended tongue against the shield, one claw raised, one wing shown on the back, and long twisted tail. A cable band is carved below, perhaps to signify the perpetual warfare which is ever being waged between the forces of good and evil. The sculpture is remarkably deep and well preserved, though a plentiful coating of whitewash, green with damp, somewhat mars its effect." On page 145 we read: "The other example is at Moreton Valence Church, Gloucestershire, over the north doorway" (Fig. 19), "and is in excellent preservation. Here St. Michael has the nimbus and outspread wings, flowing robe carried down to his feet, long spear in his right hand, pressed into the open jaws of the dragon, and a large circular shield in his left hand. The dragon seems to be endeavouring to escape to a wood, represented by foliage on the right, but has its head turned back towards the archangel, behind whom are several figures, probably intended for rescued souls." There is a band of zigzag with row of scallops on either side on the lintel. The arch is early, with the half-round on the hoodmould and bold roll on outer order, supported on chamfered abacus, and one shaft on each side with cushion capital. The inner order and jambs are plain.

At Ruardean the south doorway (Fig. 20) has an engaged roll on the angle of the hoodmould and plain order resting on a chamfered abacus, and with shaft with scalloped capital. On the tympanum is an early example of the well-known legend of the combat between St. George, on horseback, and the dragon. "St. George

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Fig. 25.—Kempsford, North Doorway.

Fig. 26.—Pauntley, South Doorway.

has a long cloak flowing out behind, a simple garment and sharp spur. He holds the reins in his left hand, while with his right he grasps the spear which he is thrusting into the large open jaws of a long worm-like serpent, on which his horse is trampling." There is a similar, but rather more elaborate, example of this subject at Brinsop in the adjoining county of Hereford.

The north doorway of Tredington is now blocked up. It has a grooved hoodmould terminating on heads, massive chamfered abacus and plain jambs. There is a tympanum about fifty-two by twenty-eight inches. In the centre is a figure seated and holding a pastoral staff in the left hand, and some doubtful object in the right. The figure is probably ecclesiastically vested, but it is much weatherworn. On either side of him kneels a figure holding a book. Both have long vestments, and all are bareheaded. The shoes are shown below their robes. The surface is much worn, and it is hazardous to suggest an interpretation.

This completes the list of those doorways with figure or symbolical sculpture on the tympana, and in conclusion attention will be briefly directed to the many other interesting doorways which are to be found in every part of the county.

Some of the doorways are very early, and probably date from the latter part of the eleventh century. At Syde there are plain semicircular arches to the north and south doorways in the interior walls of the church. On the outside, the south doorway, now blocked up, has a large oblong stone in the head, forming an irregularly shaped plain tympanum. At Hinton-on-the-Green the north and south doorways have a bold engaged roll on the angle of the arch, one massive engaged shaft with early scalloping on the capital. The abacus of the south doorway has the quarter-round moulding. The north doorway has a tympanum with intersecting diagonal lines forming a shallow lozenge pattern. Both door-

ways have plain inner order and jambs. At Saintbury are two very early doorways. The north, within a porch, has a bold roll in the arch resting on small chamfered abacus, and with nook shafts, the east ornamented with the horizontal chevrons with beads in a hollow, having large capitals with a bunch of foliage at the angle. There is a plain inner order and jambs and recessed tympanum, with the diagonal lines scored on it forming the lozenge pattern. There is a large head above the apex of the arch. The south doorway, blocked up, has a plain arch and tympanum similar to that on the north, and an early sundial above, probably coeval with the arch below. The north doorway of Hawkesbury Church has an outer course of the star ornament and then two recessed orders, each with a roll moulding in arch. There is a massive chamfered abacus. To the outer order is an engaged shaft without capital, to the middle a large shaft with cushion capital, partly renewed. An inner order and jamb are new. At Winstone the south doorway has a plain outer order, with massive roll on the angle resting on chamfered abacus, and one solid shaft with cushion capital. There is a plain inner order enclosing a recessed tympanum incised with the transverse diagonal lines forming the lozenge or diamond pattern, and with a broad lintel enriched with three rows of the star ornament. At Clifford Chambers are plain north and south doorways of early date. The west doorway at Kempley is of early character, with a grooved and chamfered hoodmould, then a hollow and section of roll moulding, and a bold roll on the angle resting on grooved and chamfered abacus, and large engaged shaft with massive cushion capital. There is a plain tympanum with quarter-round on the lintel supported on plain jambs. At Southerop the north doorway has a hoodmould with band of shallow lozenges on the upper part and billets on the chamfer. On the arch is a hollow and two roll mouldings with grooved member

Fig. 27.—Buckland Fields,

between. There is a chamfered abacus with wavy line on east, and zigzag on west, side; one shaft on each side with scroll on upper and scalloped fringe on lower part of each capital; plain jambs, with some rude carving on outer (west) jamb. There is a large tympanum with the intersecting diagonal lines scored on it.

The south doorway at Farmington has on outer order bold zigzag on angle, and a smaller course of zigzag on either side. This is supported on a chamfered abacus and engaged shaft on each side, with bunch foliage on the capitals and, below the band, some indented ornament. Plain inner order, enclosing the tympanum, and chamfered jambs. The tympanum, which is recessed, is scored with shallow diagonal lines intersecting and forming the lozenge pattern. On the lintel is a series of ten interlacing beaded circles, forming the links of a chain. There are numerous votive crosses on the jambs.

The south doorway (Fig. 21) at North Cerney has a roll on the outer order resting on a chamfered abacus and shaft with scalloped capital, having a fringe of the indented above. The inner order has five rows of zigzag, the surface within the inner order being punched with small holes. This rests on plain jambs, and encloses a recessed tympanum, on which are eight rows of the star, forming the ornamental star pattern. There are two, and two half, rows of the star on the lintel, forming the ornamental star, with band of indented below. On east side are two heads within sunk panels, and there are two more at west end of lower part of the lintel. At Hampnett is a plain arch enclosing a recessed tympanum, on which is a course of the sawtooth along the top, and then five rows of the star, forming the ornamental star. At Turkdean is some very rich Norman carving. The south chancel doorway (Fig. 22) is blocked up, and the lower part of the jambs and shafts is cut away. There is a chamfered hoodmould and abacus with the star on the main portion. There is a hollow and

bold roll to the arch. Part of one shaft on each side with cushion capitals. There is a deeply recessed tympanum with five rows of stars, having a bead between each ray. There is a portion of the arch of a walled-up north doorway, with double billet on the main part of the chamfered hoodmould, then recessed zigzag and raised on the angle, chamfered abacus with the alternate leaf on either side of a stem on main portion, and saw-tooth on the chamfer, part of a scalloped capital. There is also preserved in the wall an oblong tympanum with the guilloche pattern enclosing leaves, then a zigzag band with leaf within each chevron, and then a course of knotwork, of Saxon character. At Driffield is part of an interesting little tympanum above the south doorway, with three rows of star and some scroll foliage above.

At Barnwood the north doorway has two recessed orders, with a bold roll on the outer order, supported on large shafts with early scalloped capitals. To inner order is a quaint monster head at the apex, and a band of zigzag round the arch and down the jambs. At Avening are remains of doorways on south of nave and west of north transept. The north portal has been much altered, and a late fifteenth-century doorway inserted within it. It is lofty and fine, and much mutilated. It has two orders, with recessed and raised zigzag on the outer, and plain inner, order. To the outer is a chamfered abacus, with quarter-round on the upper part. There are lofty spiral shafts, differing in their designs, with large capitals, that on the west with scroll foliage, that on the east with an animal's head against a tree at the angle, and two bodies, one along either face of the capital, and cable band below. There is a plain tympanum (?) original.

The north doorway of Aston Blank Church, now blocked up, is plain and early, with massive abacus, recessed tympanum, and the hatched ornament on the

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Fig. 28.—Withington, South Doorway.

Taunt, Oxford.

Fig. 29.—Bibury, North Doorway.

lintel. The south doorway is fine in two orders. On the outer is a band of the hatched or sawtooth, then triple row of alternate billet, and then a hollow and bold angle roll; small abacus. The inner order is flat, with a series of roses within circles superficially scratched in two rows. They are of the six-leaved pattern. One shaft to the outer order, with bold bunch foliage on the capitals. The tympanum has a diaper of the hatched moulding. Along the lintel is a scroll with the alternate leaf pattern. A still finer specimen of this type is the south doorway of Condicote Church (Fig. 23). This has a hoodmould and three recessed orders to the arch. The hoodmould is chamfered, and has on the main upper portion a series of interlacing semicircular arches, formerly beaded and now much weatherworn. On the outer order are two courses of bold outturned zigzag, and four more bands of small zigzag. On the middle order is a large beaded cable. To these orders is a chamfered abacus, and an outer engaged and inner detached shaft on each side, the inner, on east, being enriched with the beaded cable, that on the west with the horizontal chevrons. Both have a zigzag band on the base. The capitals are scalloped, with some star ornament also introduced. The inner order has a flat surface, with four courses of zigzags slightly raised, and nailheads on the angle. This encloses the tympanum, which is recessed, and is diapered with a kind of star or hatched ornament similar to that at Aston Blank. There is a large lintel with two rows of stars or saltires, all with a bead or pellet between each limb. This is supported on an engaged shaft on angle of jambs, with hollow on either side. Let into the west wall of the porch are the fragments of another doorway, viz. a large capital, portions of an abacus with pellets in a hollow, and part of a large lintel and sunk tympanum with a diaper of a kind of star ornament.

The south doorway at Ebrington (Fig. 24) is another

very ornate example, with hoodmould and four recessed orders. It is partially concealed by the porch. The three outer orders are good examples of the variety of treatment of the zigzag moulding, the outer and inner having the raised and recessed along the face of the arch, the middle having four courses of the outturned zigzag, with smaller bands between. To these orders is a chamfered abacus and two octagonal shafts on each side, with capitals having quaint heads on the inner on east, and outer on west. On the inner order, round the tympanum, is a double band of star, and the star on the lintel. On the tympanum is a double band of star, except on the west side, where is a gridiron or crossbar pattern. The inner jambs are plain.

At Haresfield only a portion of the original doorway remains, with a double band of star and roll at angle of arch, a sort of prismatic lozenge pattern on the tympanum, and double row of star on the lower part of the lintel. At Kempsford Church are two very good examples. The north doorway, within a porch (Fig. 25), has a hoodmould and two recessed orders. On the hoodmould is a groove and three quarter-round on the angle. To the outer order is the recessed and bold raised zigzag. This rests on a chamfered abacus, supported on a shaft on either side, ornamented, the west with the cable, the east with the chevron moulding. The capitals have varied conventional foliage. The inner order has plain arch and jambs, and encloses a plain recessed tympanum. The lintel is also plain. The south doorway is within a porch, now adapted as a vestry. It has the cable moulding on the hoodmould, the terminations having been cut away, and there is a head with large fangs at the apex. On the outer order is a half-round and three rows of bold outturned zigzag, with a smaller band of zigzag between and on either side. To this order is the usual chamfered abacus, supported on shafts enriched with the cable ornament, and with bunch foliage

Taunt, Oxford.

Fig. 30.—South Cerney, South Doorway.

Taunt, Oxford.

Fig. 31.—Windrush, South Doorway.

on the east, and a head with foliage from the mouth on the west, capital. A band of an uncommon type of the lozenge design is carried down the outer jamb on each side. To the inner order is a band of zigzag running round the tympanum, and carried down the jambs without imposts to the ground. There is a large plain recessed tympanum and lintel.

The north doorway of Stanley Pontlarge Church has some excellent carving. On the chamfer of the hoodmould are large billets, and there are three recessed orders, the outer with bold outturned zigzag, the next with two courses of outturned zigzag. These rest on a massive chamfered abacus and two shafts, with varied scalloping on the capitals. The inner order is occupied by the tympanum, round which is a band of large stars, and along the lower portion, part of a star and a sort of sunk lozenge pattern, one ornamented with an oval figure, another with a star, etc. It is supported on plain jambs, on which are some votive crosses. At Postlip Chapel the south doorway has a series of large pellets on the chamfer of the hoodmould, and bold double outturned zigzag to outer order. This rests on an abacus, with the star ornament on upper part, and is supported on a shaft with scalloped capital. There is a plain inner order surrounding the recessed tympanum, on which is an excellent example of the overlapping scallops or fish-scale pattern. Along the lintel is a band of the star ornament. The inner jambs are plain. The south doorway (Fig. 26) of Pauntley Church is another admirable specimen of Norman workmanship. It has a row of billets on the chamfer of the hoodmould, and two recessed orders. On the outer is the raised, recessed and bold raised zigzag on the angle. There is a double band of the quarter-round on main portion of abacus, and one large shaft on each side, with early scroll pattern on the capital. The inner order and recessed tympanum are in one piece, with a row of pellets with

half-round on either side round the arch. On the tympanum is the overlapping scallop or fish-scale pattern, and along the lintel a pattern of four-leaved roses. The inner jambs are plain. The doorway is a curious mixture of late and early Norman work.

The west doorway of Upton St. Leonard's has a curious variety of the zigzag on face and chamfer of the hoodmould, and a double roll moulding in the arch. There is one shaft on each side, with scalloped capital, and a chequy pattern of alternate squares on the main and chamfered portions of the abacus. The tympanum and inner jambs look new. In the wall of a cottage at Buckland Fields is a very beautiful doorway (Fig. 27), reputed to have been brought from a chapel in the neighbouring hamlet of Laverton. It has a series of pellets on the chamfer of the hoodmould, and a monster head at the apex with tusks or something in its mouth. On the arch is a double course of outturned zigzag, with small band between and on either side. This is supported on a chamfered abacus, with quarter-round on main portion, and a scalloped capital on each side, the shaft gone. There is a large tympanum, with a course of small and bold angle zigzag, with pellets within the chevrons round the semicircular portion. The lintel and recessed part of the tympanum are plain. At Churchdown the church has been much renovated in the fifteenth and subsequent centuries, but part of what must have been an exceedingly beautiful arch remains over the interior side of the south doorway. It has a bold zigzag on the face and soffit, meeting and forming large lozenges on the angle. These enclose heads with conical helmets and roses alternately, except at the apex, where is a wing and part of another figure. Flanking the zigzag on east side away from the angle is another smaller band of zigzag, with a beading of small pellets in a hollow. One or two more voussoirs of this same doorway are inserted in the splays of the windows. The engaged

Fig. 32.—Compton Greenfield, South Doorway.

roll on outer arch and jamb still remains, as do some portions of the north doorway. The south doorway at Rangeworthy has a course of pellets on the hoodmould, and well-moulded zigzag on the arch; the south doorway at Bulley has large chevrons on face and soffit of outer order, forming lozenges on the angle, and carried down the jambs without imposts to the ground, and several courses of zigzag and quarter-round; and the south doorway at Rudford also has the outturned zigzag in arch. All have plain tympana.

The south doorway at Coates has a spacious arch, with billets on chamfer of the hoodmould, recessed and raised zigzag on outer order, supported on the abacus and shaft, with scalloped capital, plain inner order and jambs. On east jamb is a votive cross. On west side, within a heart-shaped border, are incised a cross and the figures 7 and 4, and two interlaced C^s below. At Ashchurch only the outer arch remains, a fourteenth-century doorway having been inserted within it. On the chamfer of the hoodmould is a sort of elliptic arched moulding, and on the arch two courses of raised zigzag, with a recessed zigzag studded with small pellets between.

The south doorway at Tredington is very fine, with grooved hoodmould, and large pellets on the chamfer, and three recessed orders. On the outer are two courses of zigzag, with small band between, and nailheads between the chevrons at the angle; on the middle order are also two courses of zigzag, with small band between. The inner order and jambs are new and plain. To the outer orders is a very massive chamfered abacus; to the middle order is a detached shaft, that on east ornamented with the cable, that on west with the horizontal chevrons and cable band below the capital. The capitals are large and scalloped, the east with pellets, the west with scroll above.

Another beautifully moulded arch is over the south

doorway of Withington Church (Fig. 28). On the main portion of the hoodmould is a small quarter-round, and on the chamfer a series of large roses or sunflowers. There are dragons' heads at the terminations. There are three recessed orders. On the outer is the raised recessed and raised zigzag on the face, and another course of raised and smaller zigzag on the soffit; on the middle order is bold zigzag on face and soffit, forming lozenges enclosing roses on the angle; on the inner is a bold raised and some smaller zigzags on face, and bold raised zigzag on soffit. The abacus is chamfered, and has the quarter-round on the upper part. There are engaged shafts to the two outer orders, terminating on plinths about one foot from the ground. The capitals are scalloped, the outer, on west, with two leaves on the south face, and a band of beaded zigzag on the west. The outer on east has the indented, the inner on east, beading round the base. The inner jambs are plain. The north doorway, blocked up, is also very ornate, with small and large zigzags on, and nailheads on the angle of, the hoodmould; then come two courses of outturned zigzag, with small band between and on either side. The abacus is grooved and chamfered, and the jambs are plain. There is a plain tympanum.

At Power (or Lower) Guiting are two very fine doorways. That on south of south transept has evidently been moved to its present position. It has a debased hoodmould and four recessed orders. On the outer are three rows of large outturned zigzag, and small zigzag on either side; on the next are four courses of small incised zigzag, and bold zigzag with nailheads between the chevrons on the angle; on the next is a hollow and bold angle roll; on the inner several courses of zigzag, and a bold zigzag with nailheads between the chevrons on the angle. Quarter-round on upper part of the chamfered abacus. Three shafts to the outer orders, the middle on each side being octagonal. The capitals

Fig. 33.—Bishop's Cleeve, West Doorway.

are all varied, with cable, sawtooth, semicircles and foliage, and cable bands below. The tympanum is new, with a diaper of the lozenge pattern, and on the lintel, which is also new, is an hour-glass, and the star ornament on either side. The north doorway is also much ornamented, with the star on the main portion and billets on the angle of the hoodmould, and two recessed orders. On the outer are two zigzag rows of continuous small lozenges and bold zigzag on the angle. Plain inner order and jambs support a plain recessed tympanum and lintel. To the outer order is the chamfered abacus, with incised chevrons on the upper part. One engaged shaft on each side, with elaborately carved capitals. On the east is a quaint face with tongue out on the angle, and two small (?) figures and two croziers on either side, some beaded stars above, and stars on the jamb at the side, and cable band below; on the west capital are two scallops, with beads above on each face, and beaded star above, and stars on jamb at the side, and cable band below. The bases are of early character.

The north doorway at Bibury (Fig. 29) has a series of large billets on the chamfer of the hoodmould, then recessed zigzag studded with small pellets and bold zigzag at the angle. There is a plain tympanum cut out into a trefoil. A series of well-carved leaves enrich the abacus. There is a shaft to the outer order on each side, with leaves on the capitals.

The north doorway at South Cerney has the chamfered hoodmould and recessed and raised zigzag in arch, and is supported on the usual grooved and chamfered abacus and massive shaft with scalloped capital. Plain inner order, recessed tympanum and lintel are supported on plain jambs. The south doorway (Fig. 30), within a porch, is a very fine example, with a hoodmould and three recessed orders. On the chamfer of the hoodmould is a series of eight-leaved roses, and there are large heads at the terminations. On the outer order is a bold

outturned zigzag, with several small courses of zigzag on either side. On the middle order, on an angle roll, are fourteen large heads. One at the apex, with curly beard, may be intended for our Blessed Lord. Next to Him is an animal or lizard squatting down, and one more similar animal, a griffin, and ten monster beak and cats' heads complete the number. The inner order has scroll foliage on a flat surface. There is a chamfered abacus with scroll ornament on main portion. There are engaged shafts to the outer order with richly carved capitals, on west a griffin, and on east David killing the lion. To the middle order a row of beaded labels or tongues are attached to the shafts from the main piers. The inner jambs are plain. Above the arch is a coeval semicircular headed niche, and within this is part of a richly sculptured stone coffin lid, on which is carved our Lord in Majesty, and the descent into Hades.

The south doorway at Windrush (Fig. 31) furnishes us with one of the best specimens of the beakhead device. It has a chamfered hoodmould and two recessed orders. On the outer order is a band of sawtooth and seventeen beak and monster heads on an angle roll. This rests on a massive abacus ornamented with the antique pattern, and one shaft on each side, with six large beak and monster heads springing from the jambs and attached to the shafts. The capitals are scalloped with recessed semicircles on the upper part. There is a sundial on the upper part of the east jamb. The inner order has twelve beak and monster heads on a roll in the arch. The roll is continued without imposts down the jambs, with nine more beakheads attached to it on either side. It is in excellent preservation.

One of the most beautiful doorways is that on the south side of Compton Greenfield Church (Fig. 32). It has a grooved and chamfered hoodmould, terminated on horned demons' heads. There is a small rose at each extremity of the chamfered portion. There are three

Fig. 34.—Bishop's Cleeve, South Doorway

recessed orders. On the outer is a continuous series of lozenges on face and soffit, the inner points meeting so as to form lozenges also on the angle. This is continued without imposts down the jambs to the ground. On the middle order is a band of frette, of the Kentish type to be seen at Canterbury, Barfreston, etc. This rests on a chamfered abacus and engaged shaft and scroll foliage, that on east beaded, on the capital. On the inner order is a bold zigzag on face and soffit, set on a roll at the angle and continued without imposts down the jambs to the ground. The jambs are rounded. The full width of the outer arch is about eight feet, of the inner three feet eight inches. The doorway is probably not earlier than 1180. At the noble church at Bishops Cleeve are also some very fine and late specimens of Norman architecture. The west doorway (Fig. 33) has chamfered hoodmould, with a series of small fleurs-de-lis on the chamfer. On the north side it terminates on a dragon's head, on the south on a serpent with head coiled round and turned upwards, long body and twisted tail carved on the chamfered portion, and carried through two and ending in a third fleur-de-lis. There are three reveals. On the outer order is recessed and raised zigzag on the face and raised zigzag on the soffit; on the next, two courses of bold outturned zigzag, with recessed zigzag between; on the inner, a hollow and bold angle roll. The roll is carried through the abacus and down the inner jamb. The outer order has an engaged shaft with large capital, that on north ornamented with bunch foliage, that on south with fluting; the middle order has a detached shaft, with scalloping, enclosing circles on the north and semicircles on the south, on the capitals. There is a massive chamfered abacus, rounded and with band of beading below, to the inner order. On the interior side the arch is segmental headed, with half-round moulding to arch and jambs. The south doorway, within a porch, is also very fine (Fig. 34). On the

interior side is a chamfered hoodmould, with a kind of crozier-shaped termination, and a series of pellets on the chamfer; a half-round moulding is carried round the arch and down the jambs. The exterior arch is very richly carved, with the hoodmould sculptured into two great beaded dragons with large horned heads, and with tails interlacing at the apex. Each has the head and neck of a bird protruding from its jaws at the lower termination of the hoodmould. There are two recessed orders. On the outer is a double course of outturned zigzag, with recessed zigzag between, on which are studded numerous large beads or pellets, and there are nailheads within the chevrons on the angle; on the inner order is a bold frette or embattled moulding. On the west side, on the angle of the outer part of the abacus is a head with foliage coming from the mouth on either side, to the inner part is a pattern of leaves on a diapered ground. There is a large shaft to the outer order, with foliage and indented above on the capital. To the inner order is an engaged shaft without capital. On the east side is the alternate leaf pattern on the abacus. There is a shaft to outer order, with foliage on the capital; the inner shaft corresponds with that on the west side. The porch has very rich groining and arcading, and there is a muniment room above. It is of very late Norman work, probably not earlier than 1180. It has a fine semicircular outer doorway, with hoodmould and three reveals. On the hoodmould is a small half-round; on the outer order three courses of the half-round; on the middle, the peculiar late zigzag, of the type so richly exemplified at Selby Abbey in Yorkshire, on either side of a central keel-shaped moulding, forming a sort of diamond frette pattern; on the inner, a bold half-roll round the arch and down the jambs. To the outer orders is a late chamfered abacus, and two slender shafts with foliated capitals of early English character.

There are several other doorways of this same late

Fig. 35.—Bitton, South Doorway.

Norman period, all with semicircular-headed arches. At Bitton the south doorway, blocked up, is very spacious, with chamfered hoodmould, terminating on a bunch of fourteenth-century foliage on either side, and three recessed orders. All have the face of the arch and jamb rounded, instead of with a flat surface. The outer and inner orders are continued without impost to the ground; the middle has the usual form of abacus, with acanthus on the west capital and foliage on the east. Only the west shaft remains. The north doorway (Fig. 35), now on north side of the tower, has a grooved and chamfered hoodmould, and then a course of the diamond frette, formed by the Selby type of chevron, on the face and soffit, and a roll with lozenges containing roses at intervals on the angle. Within the chevrons on the face are leaves, and on the soffit half-circles. To this order is a shaft, with deeply cut foliage on the capital. There is a plain chamfered arch and jambs to the inner order. A fifteenth-century arch has been inserted within it. The south doorway at Old Sodbury is of the same type, but it has been much renewed. On the hoodmould are two large roses at the apex and one at each extremity. On either side of those at the apex are eight large nail-heads. On the outer order is the "Selby" zigzag on face and soffit, a chamfered abacus and bold shaft, with foliage on the capitals. The face of the arch and jambs of the inner order is rounded, as at Bitton. The north doorway at Thornbury has a half-round on the hood-mould, terminating on foliated brackets; the outer order has the half-round to the arch and down the jambs; the inner has the face of the arch and jambs rounded as at Bitton. The south doorway has been much renewed. It has the dogtooth on the hoodmould, terminating on heads of king and queen of much later character, then a keel-shaped and roll with small fillet or pointed edge to outer order. To this is the late form of abacus and one shaft, with the pointed edge and conventional foliage on

the capitals. There is a plain chamfered edge to inner arch and jambs. The south doorway at Berkeley Church, with the keel-shaped in arch, foliated capitals, etc., is also an example of the latest transitional period.

A very beautiful specimen of the Norman work of the end of the twelfth century is the arch of the south doorway of Little Barrington Church (Fig. 36). It has a very early example of the dogtooth ornament on the chamfer of the hoodmould and three recessed orders. There is a demon head with snakes coming from the mouth at the apex of the hoodmould. On the outer order are two courses of outturned zigzag on the face, one more course on the angle, and two on the soffit. On the next is a bold zigzag on face and soffit, forming deeply cut lozenges on the angle, with a roll showing within each of the lozenges. The inner order has a roll on the angle and fluted member on either side. The abacus is of the late type, with a half-round on the main and below the chamfered portion. The outer order has an engaged keel-shaped shaft, with very nice foliage on the capital, and band of beading above. The middle order is continued with the deeply cut lozenges down the jambs to the ground; the inner order has an engaged keel-shaped shaft. There are well-moulded bases to the outer and inner shafts. Of the same type is the south doorway of Coln St. Aldwyns Church, with hoodmould terminating on large dragons' heads, and three recessed orders. On the outer are a series of large lozenges set on a sunk roll; on the middle is a course of outturned zigzag, with a half-round on either side; and on the inner a course of zigzag, the surface of the arch within the lower side of the chevrons being partly cut away. There is a late form of abacus, three engaged keel-shaped shafts on each side, and scalloping on the capitals. The south doorway at Ozleworth is of the very latest transitional period, with semicircular arch, but not earlier than the year 1200. It has a half-round

Taunt, Oxford.

Fig. 36.—Little Barrington, South Doorway.

on the hoodmould, then on the outer order three rows of continuous and concentric semicircles, six in each row. Between the heads of the outer row of semicircles the space is filled up with conventional foliage, and there is similar foliage within the semicircles of the middle row. To this order is a rounded undercut abacus and jamb shaft, with conventional foliage on the capital. The inner arch and jambs have plain chamfered edge.

Such is a description of the principal doorways of the Saxon and Norman period in this highly favoured county. It must be conceded that Gloucestershire is indeed fortunate in the number of specimens of the skill of the early designers and operative masons which have survived to our day, in spite of ruthless neglect and the destroying hand of time. It is sincerely to be hoped that the custodians of these evidences of early piety will appreciate their trust, and endeavour to preserve these relics of a truly religious age from injury and decay. When we consider the vicissitudes which our churches have gone through, we must be thankful that so much has escaped. At one of the Congresses of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society the late Sir John Maclean remarked: "I verily believe that our ancient parish churches have suffered more within the last thirty years from miscalled 'restoration' than they suffered from violence and neglect during the preceding three hundred years."

May we hope that this reproach may no longer apply, and that, by constant attention to the fabrics, the necessity for any undue renovation in the future may be obviated.

[The Appendix at the end of the volume contains a list of all the Norman doorways which have been noted, with references to authorities by whom they have been described.]

THE CHURCH BELLS OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE

By Rev. H. A. Cockey

The county of Gloucester is probably one of the richest in Great Britain in the number and excellence of its church bells. Not only has the city of Bristol the largest number of rings of any city in the country, London excepted, but the rural districts are better supplied throughout its length and breadth than is the case in the great majority of our counties. There are no less than three rings of twelve bells, seven of ten, about forty of eight, and more than one hundred of six bells. There are also over thirty rings of five bells, some hundred of four, three, and two bells, and over two hundred churches with one bell, giving a grand total of some sixteen hundred bells distributed amongst its four hundred and fifty parishes.

This abundance is no doubt to a great extent attributable to the existence of a famous bell foundry at Gloucester, in which, between the years 1684 and 1830, no less than 4,521 bells were cast for churches in different parts of England; and of that number 675 were placed in Gloucestershire steeples. As early as the reign of Edward III there was at Gloucester a founder, known as John of Gloucester, whose fame had reached the ears of the monks of Ely, and induced them to send for him, in the year 1346, to cast a ring of four large bells for their newly built tower. It is recorded in the Sacrist's Roll, which is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Ely, that Master John of Gloster cast these bells at Ely, that he bought the necessary materials at various places, and sent them thither by water. The late Mr.

Ellacombe tells us that some years ago a bellfounder's seal was found in the river Thames (Fig. 1) which bears the emblems of the founder's craft, a laver pot surmounted by a bell, and the legend S'. SANDRE DE GLOUCETRE, and to which the date has been assigned of about the year 1330. He surmises that the surname of John of Gloster may very probably have been SANDERS, and that he was commonly known by his Christian name only, after the custom of the period (S'. SANDRE being one of the same family). If so, John of Gloster was doubtless the founder of the second bell at Gloucester Cathedral, which is probably as early as 1350, and

Fig. 1.

bears the inscription SANCTE PETRE ORA PRO NOBIS and the initials I. S., which would stand for John Sandre.

The fourth bell at St. Nicholas, Gloucester, bears the name of Robert Hendlel as its founder, its date being about 1400. Hendlel was probably a successor of John of Gloster, and evidently did a good deal of work in the county, since many of the ancient bells bear the same initial cross and intervening stops in their inscriptions as those which are to be seen on the St. Nicholas bell.

The name of "William Henshawe Bellfounder and Maire of this town" occurs on a brass in the church of St. Michael, Gloucester. He was sheriff of Gloucester in 1496 and 1501, and mayor in 1503, 1508 and 1509.

Doubtless other founders intervened before we come to the time of the famous Rudhalls, though no record is to be found of them. The earliest bell by Abraham Rudhall is dated 1684. He died in 1736, and was succeeded in turn by Abraham his son, Abel, Thomas,

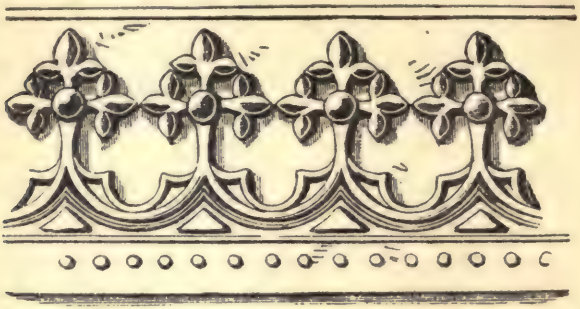

Fig. 2.

Charles, and John, the last of the family. During their time 4,521 bells were cast at the Gloucester foundry. In 1828 the business was taken over by Mears of Whitechapel, who transferred the stock and trade to the Lon-

Fig. 3.

don premises. And so ends the history of the famous Gloucester foundry. The bells cast by the Rudhalls have a great reputation amongst ringers and others for beauty of tone and for careful workmanship. The lettering and ornamentation which they bear are of elegant design and skilfully moulded (Figs. 2, 3); and all who

have listened to the beautiful rings of twelve at Painswick and Cirencester in Gloucestershire, or to the rings of ten at Bath Abbey, Wrexham and Fulham, or to the ring of twelve at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, will acknowledge that as regards tone their bells are hard to surpass.

Roger Purdue of Bristol was another local bell-founder who flourished in the early part of the seventeenth century. No record of the number of bells cast by him and his family at the Bristol foundry is known

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

to exist, but thirty-nine of them still remain in Gloucestershire.

Of other seventeenth-century founders whose bells still exist in the county the chief are Edward Neale of Burford, whose trade-mark is found on twenty bells; James and Richard Keene of Woodstock, seventeen bells; and the Bagleys of Chacombe, Oxfordshire, twenty-seven bells.

Of pre-Reformation bells there are still about ninety in the county, most of them remarkable for initial crosses, whilst eight of them, at Dyrham, Cubberley, Boddington, Huntley, Kempley (two), Winstone and Upper Slaughter, bear royal heads, supposed to represent Edward I and Queen Eleanor (Figs. 4, 5), which are rare in other counties, though a few are to be found

in the neighbouring counties of Hereford and Worcester. At Stoneleigh in Warwickshire the treble bell is inscribed "MICHAELE. TE PULSANTE WINCHELCUMBAM

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

A PETENTE DEMONE TU LIBRA," with the supposed heads of Edward III and Philippa (Figs. 6, 7) and a shield crowned with on either side the initials R. K. of Richard Kydermynster, who was Abbot of Winchcombe in

Fig. 8.

Gloucestershire 1488–1531. This bell was probably originally cast for the Abbey of Winchcombe (or Wyncelcomb) with another bell in the same tower, now recast, which was dedicated to St. Kenelm, the patron

saint of this abbey, and formed part of the ring of eight bells which were sold to Lord Chandos in the year 1557. At Bristol Cathedral, where there remain only the treble, second, third and seventh bells in the old timber frame which formerly carried a ring of ten, the bearings on which they swung being still in place, the treble has the arms of John Newland (or Nailheart) (Fig. 8), Abbot of St. Augustine, who died 1486. There are four of these shields on the waist of the bell with the initials I. N. alternately, and the inscription "SANCTE 2 CLEMENT ORA 2 PRO + NOBIS," the stop and cross (Figs. 9, 10)

Fig. 9.

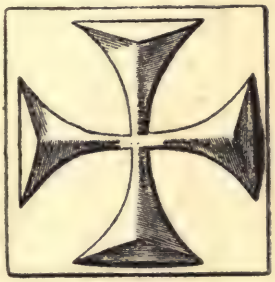

Fig. 10.

being also found on two bells dedicated to St. Anne, which formerly hung in the tower of Oldland Chapel in the parish of Bitton, and were removed to Kingswood Church in the same parish, built in 1821, when the old chapel at Oldland was rebuilt without a tower in which to place them.

Gloucester Cathedral is rich in mediæval bells. On Great Peter, the clock bell, weighing about four tons, are the arms of the Abbey (Fig. 11), with other shields bearing three bells (Fig. 12) and the inscription "ME FECIT FIERI CONVENTUS NOMINE PETRI." The second bell has been already mentioned. The fifth has two very elegant crosses, and the inscription "IN MULTIS ANNIS

RESONET CAMPANA JOHANNIS." The sixth has a cross formed by four fleurs-de-lis and the inscription "SUM ROSA PULSATA MUNDI MARIA VOCATA"; and the seventh, which is dated 1626, has a mediæval inscription, probably reproduced from an older bell, but set backwards,

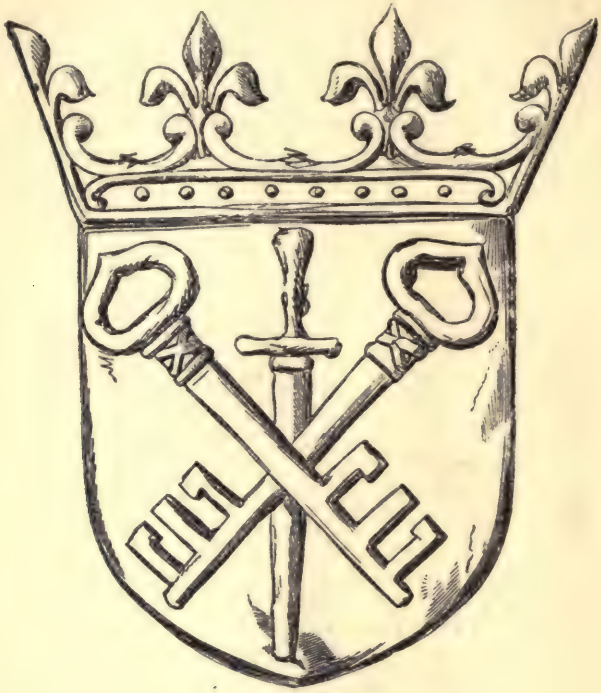

Fig. 11.

"SILEIRBAG NEMON OEBAH SILEC ED ISSIM" ("MISSI DE CELIS HABEO NOMEN GABRIELIS"), with the same cross as the sixth. The three rings of twelve bells at Bristol, Cirencester and Painswick are worthy of mention. At St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, all the old bells, with the exception of the eighth, tenth and eleventh, have been recently recast by Messrs. Taylor of Loughborough. The ninth was to have been retained, but was unfor-

tunately cracked in transit from Loughborough, whither the whole ring had been sent for tuning, and had to be recast at the expense of the railway company. The inscriptions have been reproduced on the new bells, and are as follow—

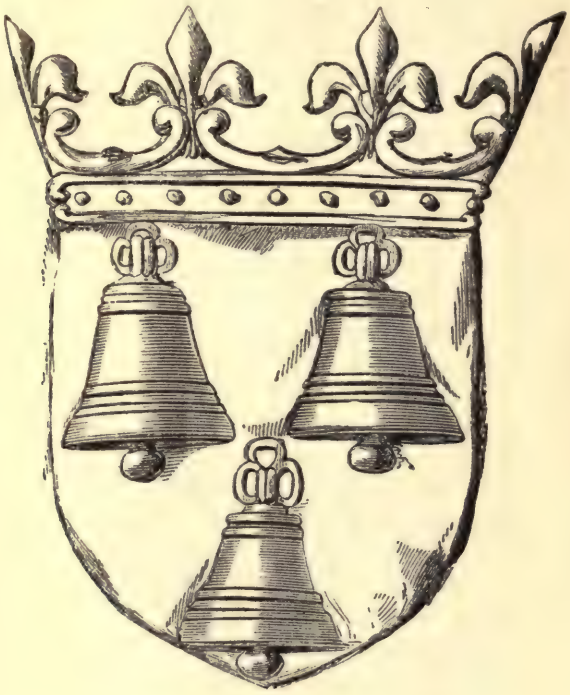

Fig. 12.

Treble: "MEARS AND STAINBANK FOUNDERS LONDON 1872. REV. H. G. RANDALL VICAR. C. B. HARE. M. K. KING ESQRS CH WDNS." (Recast 1903.) Second: "MEARS AND STAINBANK FOUNDERS LONDON 1872. WM PROCTOR BAKER ESQ. MAYOR. A. JONES. CONDTR. W. DOWLING. STEEPLE KEEPER. THESE BELLS WERE PURCHASED BY SUBSCRIPTION AND ADDED TO THE PEAL A.D.

1872. LAUS DEO." (Recast 1903.) Third: "PROSPERITY TO OUR BENEFACTORS. T. MEARS OF LONDON FECIT 1823. JOHN CLARK. JASPER WESTCOTT. CHURCHWARDENS 1823." (Recast 1903.) Fourth: Same inscription as the third. (Recast 1903.) Fifth: "YOU ME TRUE RING ILE SWEETLY SING. A.R. 1698." (Recast 1903.) Sixth: "PROSPERITY TO ALL OUR WORTHY BENEFACTORS. A.R. 1698." (Recast 1903.) Seventh: Mr JOSEPH THOMAS AND Mr STEPHEN BAGG. CHURCHWARDENS. 1763. T. BILBIE CAST ME." (Recast 1903.) Eighth: Same inscription as seventh. Ninth: Ditto. (Recast 1903.) Tenth: "Mr THOMAS. Mr BAGG CHURCHWARDENS. THOMAS BILBIE CAST ME 1763." Eleventh: "DRAWE NEARE TO GOD. T.S. I.E. T.P. C.W. 1622." Tenor: "COME WHEN I CALLE TO SERVE GOD ALL. 1622. T.S. I.E. T.P. C.W. (Recast 1903.) The weight of the old tenor was always supposed to be 48 cwt., but when put on the scales at the foundry before being broken up it proved to be only 39 cwt. The new bell which has taken its place weighs 50 cwt. 2 qrs. 21 lb. It appears that in the year 1638 there were four bells in the tower, which were increased to eight in 1698 by A. Rudhall. The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth were recast by T. Bilbie in 1763, the ring increased to ten by Mears of London in 1823, and to twelve by Mears and Stainbank in 1872. On the old oak bell frame, which was removed in 1903 to make way for a new iron frame, was cut the following inscription: "T. ROOME OF THIS CITTIE CARPENTER ANNO DOMINIE 1636. JAMES WATHING JOHN READ CHURCHWARDENS." Will the new iron frame stand as long as its predecessor?

The twelve bells in the parish church of St. John the Baptist, Cirencester, bear the following inscriptions, and are all from the Gloucester foundry, though of different dates—

Treble: "BY A SUBSCRIPTION PROCURED BY Mr HERBERT MASTER Mr JOHN SMALL M.P. AND Mr THOMAS

FEREBIE CHURCHWARDENS A.R. 1722." Second: "PROSPERITY TO ALL OUR BENEFACTORS A.R. 1722." Third: "PROSPERITY TO THIS PLACE. A.R. 1713." Fourth: "PROSPERITY TO THIS PARISH 1786." Fifth: "JOHN TOMBS AND JAS. DEIGHTON CHURCHWARDENS 1729." Sixth: "JNO BEDWELL AND THOS. VAISEY CHURCHWARDENS 1787." Seventh: "JACOB HANCOCK AND SAM[L] HEAVEN CHURCHWARDENS. A.R. 1761." Eighth: "PROSPERITY TO ALL OUR BENEFACTORS A.R. 1718." Ninth: "PROSPERITY TO ALL LOVERS OF CHURCH AND BELLS A.R. 1715." Tenth: "PROSPERITY TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND A.R. 1746." Eleventh: "JOHN CRIPPS AND THOMAS MASTER CHURCHWARDENS 1734. A.R." Tenor (29 cwt.): "WILLIAM JONES AND THOMAS FORDER CHURCHWARDENS 1736. CAST BY ABEL RUDHALL." The notes of these bells are, commencing with the treble, A, G, F♯, E, D, C♯, B, A; G, F♯, E, D; and in 1895 a thirteenth bell, C♮, coming between the sixth and seventh, was added as "the gift of the Cirencester Society in London." This bell, which was cast by Messrs. Taylor, is used as a fire bell when rung alone, or if rung instead of the sixth (C♯) it gives a minor ring of eight bells, with the third as treble and the eleventh as tenor, and also a light ring of eight, with the second as treble and the ninth as tenor. It is known that there were bells in this tower in 1499, for in the will of "Agnes Benett widowe of Cisciter" of that date, in the directions for her funeral, it is ordered "that the belle called the Trinite Belle and Jesus Belle be at sondry tymes rong in the tyme of the said obit." There is no record of their number, but that they were sufficient for clock chimes since the sixteenth century, when the south porch was built, is evident from an entry in the Vestry Book dated 1614, which says "the little house in the South Porch of the Parysh Churche of Sainte John Baptyste in Cirencester . . . hathe for ever from tyme to tyme sithence it was buylte been inhabyted or dis-

posed of by the keeper of the clock and chymes of the said Parysh Churche." Towards the end of the sixteenth century there was a revival of ringing throughout the country, and it is probable that the old bells were recast into a ring of eight, for in the Vestry Book there is a record that at a vestry meeting held in 1634 it was agreed "that the bellfounder in respect of his losse and paynes in melting the bells so often shall have £13 over and above his bargayne, to be paid this time twelvemonths if the bells shall be whole and good and tuneable then." And on May 29, 1678, Anthony à Wood, visiting Cirencester, "found a very fair Church there with a steeple and eight bells therein." The only other references obtainable with regard to this old ring of eight are in the Vestry Book, where it is recorded that at a vestry meeting held in 1658 it was "agreed by John George Esq and Andrew Colard Esq, Alexander Gregory, clerk, and the rest of the inhabitants then present that one of the bells at St. John's Hospital shall be cast into the little trebble in the tower to make that a firme bell"; and in 1678 there is mention of "the 3rd and 4t bells cast in the year 1677; John Mansall and Thomas Freeman Churchwardens." The earliest date on any bell of the present ring is 1713, and it is thought that probably the old eight were in that year increased to ten, the second of the two trebles then added being recast in 1786. It is evident that the ring was increased to twelve in 1722, and that the eight larger bells were recast at the dates which they bear. This ring of twelve is the oldest in the country at the present time, with the exception of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, London, the date of which is 1719. A ring of twelve existed in York Minster in 1681, but they were recast into ten in the year 1765, and destroyed by fire in 1829.

There are some interesting regulations as to the use of the Cirencester bells in olden times. In 1656 it was ordered that when the inhabitants desired to be buried in

the church with the tolling of the bell, "that the bell shall be tolled for six hours and not lesse, and they to pay 12 pence for every hour, that is to say sixpence to the Church, and sixpence to the sexton, and if they that shall be buried in the Churchyard shall desire to have but one bell tolled, that then for so many hours as the bell shall toll the Church to have sixpence for every hour, and the sexton sixpence, and this order to remain continual." In 1658 it was agreed that at a "buriall the sexton shall have 14 pence for ringing the two bells which are usually rung at the burials, and nothing for ringing the sermon bell at a buriall, but the same to be reckoned with the peals." In 1661 it was ordered that "when any stranger shall desire to hear the bells rung, or to have a peal, he shall pay for the peal 3*s*., whereof 1*s*. go to the Church and the rest to the ringers club. . . . That the ringers shall have liberty to ring every Thursday from six of the clock in the morning until ten in the morning for practice, conditionally that they shall ring at all other times that the Churchwardens shall appoint at the wages aforesaid (other payments previously mentioned)." At a vestry meeting in 1679 provision was made for two persons to "assist the sexton in chiming to prayers both morning and afternoon every Sunday." The day bell was rung at 4 a.m. from Michaelmas to Lady Day.

Many ancient customs with regard to the bells are retained at Cirencester, amongst the most important being the ringing of the tenth bell as curfew at 8 p.m. from November 8 to March 25. The bell is raised, tolled for a quarter of an hour, and when lowered the day of the month is chimed on it. The ninth bell is rung at noon on Shrove Tuesday as "Shriving Bell," though now popularly known as the "Pancake Bell." The seventh and eighth are generally rung for a quarter of an hour before the celebration of the Holy Communion on Sundays and Holy Days, and are known as

the "Epistle and Gospel Bells." On Monday and Tuesday in Easter and Whitsun weeks all the bells are rung thus, two at a time, beginning with the treble and second; and on every Saturday morning all the bells are chimed one by one at eleven o'clock.

The third ring of twelve in Gloucestershire is the far-famed ring of Painswick, noted throughout England for the beauty of its music, though some modern critics would have us believe that nearly all the bells are out of tune! The effect of the bells when rung either in rounds or changes is acknowledged by most people to be delightful, and it is said by those competent to judge to be second to that of no ring in the country, with perhaps the one exception of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich. In both places there is an excellent vantage-ground on which to enjoy the music of the bells—at Norwich the Castle Grounds, and at Painswick the old Bowling Green at the back of the hotel, both being of somewhat higher level than the bells themselves, and just far enough away for the clash of the iron tongues to be pleasantly modulated. Many very notable feats of change ringing have been performed on these bells in bygone years, as well as in more recent times, and members of the Painswick Society of Change Ringers have greatly distinguished themselves in the "ringing world." Mr. William Estcourt, as a composer, conductor, and ringer, was one of the most noted in England, and amongst other fine performances took part in a peal of 12,312 changes of Grandsire Caters which was composed and conducted by himself in May 1817, the ringing taking seven hours and forty-four minutes. The last surviving member of the band who rang this peal, Giles Mansfield, died only a few years ago, having rung his first peal at Painswick in 1814. On February 19, 1831, the Society rang a peal of Grandsire Triples to commemorate one which was rung by the same Society in the same method in the year 1731. It was in a great

measure due to the enthusiasm of the members of this Society that the ring was increased from eight to ten bells, and afterwards to twelve. The following are the inscriptions on the bells—

Treble and second: "JOHN RUDHALL GLOUCESTER FECIT 1821." Third: "WHEN YOU ME RING ILE SWEETLY SING 1731." Fourth: "PROSPERITY TO ALL OUR BENEFACTORS A.R. 1731." Fifth: "THE GIFT OF EDM^D WEBB. CLOTHIER. 1686. RECAST 1731." Sixth: "THE GIFT OF W^M ROGERS ESQ 1686. RECAST 1731." Seventh: "ABR. RUDHALL CAST US ALL 1731." Eighth: "1732." Ninth: "PROSPERITY TO THIS TOWN AND PARISH A.R. 1731." Tenth: "JOHN DOWNE VICAR 1731." Eleventh: "THOMAS SMITH AND WILLIAM BARNES CHURCHWARDENS. A.R. 1731." Tenor: "I TO THE CHURCH THE LIVING CALL AND TO THE GRAVE I SUMMON ALL. 1731." It will be observed that, as in the case of the Cirencester ring, all the bells are from the Rudhall's foundry at Gloucester. Previous to the year 1686 there were six bells in the tower, but in January of that year a meeting was held at which "a Levy was granted for the hanging of the two new bells the two new wheels foure new ropes the timber and workmanship and the two new clappers and other ironwork to the said bells belonging. And the ironwork in setting the chimes goeing on the eight bells. And workmanship thereto belonging." The parish also voluntarily paid all the expenses incurred in fetching and hanging the two bells, which were cast by "Abraham Riddall" (Rudhall) of Gloucester, and in re-arranging the chimes to play on the eight bells, for which a new chime barrel and fittings were provided. Forty-five years later it was decided to add two more bells and to recast the eight old bells. The various payments in connection with this work are recorded in the parish accounts, and provide interesting reading. The ring of twelve bells was completed in 1821 by the same Gloucester firm of bellfounders.

For much of the information given in this chapter we are indebted to the research of the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, from whose book on the Bells of Gloucestershire the engravings have been copied by the kind permission of his son, the Rev. Canon Ellacombe, Vicar of Bitton. Mr. Cecil Davis of Wandsworth has been kind enough to grant us the use of his father's notes on the bells and ringers of Painswick; and thanks are also due to local ringers who have supplied information, prominent amongst them being Mr. H. Moore, of Cirencester.

THE MISERICORDS OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL

By Mary Phillips Perry

The cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, Bristol, is fitted with choir-stalls of oak, which, although much restored and with modern additions, preserve to a large extent the ornament of the sixteenth century. The date generally ascribed to the ancient work, 1520, was during the administration of Abbot Elyot, whose initials, R. E., are repeatedly interwoven into the designs employed in its decoration.

A very interesting set of twenty-eight misericords remain. That they are not a complete series can be proved from a paper read before the Clifton Antiquarian Club, January 18, 1888, by Mr. Robert Hall Warren, F.S.A.[1] In this he specifies thirty misericords, apart from three others which, from the unseemly nature of the subjects depicted upon them, were intentionally removed from the cathedral. Since 1888 two out of the thirty have disappeared, one carved with a representation of blind man's buff, the other with a design of conventional foliage. This loss took place after the awakening of antiquarian interest; it is impossible to say what may have vanished at an earlier date.

Judging from the uniformity of the moldings, twenty-seven of the misericords which remain belong to a single period. The one existing example of a seat, carved with conventional foliage only, is of considerably later date, the design being Jacobean in type.

The sixteenth-century misericords are all decorated by

[1] Printed in *Proceedings of Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. i. The present writer wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to this paper.

figure or animal subjects. The principal carving, occupying the entire under surface of the bracket, represents in each case a scene complete in itself; the secondary subjects, on the finials, are either conventional foliage, masks, or grotesque beasts which have no direct bearing on the central theme.

The carvings are particularly rich in representations of animals, more than two-thirds of the leading actors in the central scenes being animals. They are typical of the important part which the bestiary and fable played in mediæval times, and the prominence which was given to the moral in such literature should not be overlooked. In the epilogue of the Caxton version of *The History of Reynard the Fox* it is expressly stated that—

"Ther ben many fygures playes founden that neuer were done ne happed but for an example to the peple that they may therby the better vse and folowe vertue and to eschewe synne and vyces; in lyke wyse may it be by this book that they who wyl rede this mater though it be of japes and bourdes yet he may fynde therin many a good wysedom and lernynges by whiche he may come to vertue and worship." [1]

It was perhaps this tendency to form a moral interpretation, prevailing in ancient fable, the "Physiologus" and the "Bestiary," which formed in the Middle Ages the justification for the admission into sacred buildings of many of the subjects which are introduced into their ornament.

Several of the Bristol misericords are occupied with scenes which to the casual observer of to-day appear completely irrelevant to their position. Of these perhaps the most interesting are those which illustrate *The History of Reynard the Fox*. Caxton had translated

[1] The edition referred to throughout this paper is *English Scholars' Library of Old and Modern Works; The History of Reynard the Fox*, translated and printed by William Caxton, 1481. Edited by Edward Arber, F.S.A., etc. Constable & Co.

the Flemish version of the story into English and printed it in 1481, about forty years before the execution of the Bristol stalls. This contained the tale in simple form. It had been added to and enlarged by the fancies of various countries and periods, and had no doubt attached to itself many lesser fables of similar kind; and it is probable that many of its other developments, particularly some of the numerous French branches, were also well known and popular in England.

"How Bruyn ete the honey," "How Tybert spedde with Reynarde the foxe," "How the foxe was ledde to the galewis," are incidents in the story which are certainly illustrated in these misericords. Noble the lion, the king of beasts, had sent Bruin the bear to fetch Reynard from his castle of Maleperduis, to answer certain charges which had been made against him by other animals. Reynard tells Bruin that honey is to be found in a cleft oak in Lanfert the carpenter's yard, and offers to bring him to the place, in consideration of a promise that Bruin would be to him "friendly and helping" against his enemies in the king's court. When they reached the yard they found the oak wherein the carpenter—

"As men be woned had smeten two betels therin one after that other in suche wyse the oke was wyde open whereof Reynart was glad for he had found it right as he wisshed, and sayde to the bere all lawhyng see nou wel sharply to, in this tree is so moche hony that it is without mesure. Assaye yf ye can come therein.

. . . . . .

"Bruyn the bere hasted sore toward the hony and trad in wyth his two formest feet and put his heed ouer his eeris in to the clyft of the tree and Reynart sprang lyghtly and brak out the betle of the tree."

When Bruin found himself trapped "he began to howle and to braye and crutched wyth the hynder feet and made suche a noyse and rumour that Lanfert cam out hastely . . . thenne ranne he fast to his neygh-

bours and sayde come alle in to my yarde ther is a bere taken . . . alle ranne theder as fast as they coude eueryche wyth his wepon some wyth a staf, some with a rake, some with a brome, some with a stake of the hagghe and some wyth a flayel."

One misericord shows the bear, his head and fore-paws fast in the cleft of the tree. He is being belaboured by three assailants, whilst Reynard looks on.

Bruin having failed in his mission, Tybert the cat is instructed to bring Reynard to court. Reynard tells him of a priest dwelling near by who "hath a barne by his hows ther in ben so many myse that a man shold not lede them away vpon a wayne." He thus allures Tybert to a hole in the wall of the priest's barn through which he himself had broken on the previous night to steal poultry. In consequence of this the priest had set a trap for Reynard. Tybert, who "dreads to take harme," on the ground that "these prestes ben so wyly and shrewyssh," is at length persuaded to enter the hole, and is caught by the neck in the gin, whereupon he "calls and cries and makes a shrewd noise." This awoke the priest, who, calling "all that were in his house," set forth to catch the thief. When they found the cat they attacked him furiously with sticks, at which he retaliates upon the priest with claws and teeth. In one misericord the priest armed with a stick, Dame Julok with a broom, and Martinet holding the cat by the rope of the gin are represented. Reynard stands in the background enjoying the cat's discomfiture, and behind Dame Julok, the barn is shown. A second misericord appears to refer to the same subject. Here Tybert is depicted climbing up the priest's back, whilst Dame Julok holds him with the left hand by the tail, and is about to deal him a blow with the right. Reynard, who has taken shelter in the fork of a tree, is looking on. The similarity of the woman's head-dress in both misericords, and the fact that these are the only two in which nude and clothed characters appear

Reynard the Fox led to the Gallows.

The Fox Preaching.

together, lead to the conclusion that both belong to the same incident, particularly as the story expressly states that the priest went forth in pursuit of Tybert "al moder naked."

The fourth scene shows Reynard led to the gallows, from which he afterwards escapes by means of deceitful tales of hidden treasure. He is represented in the act of climbing the ladder leading to the cross-beam. Tybert the cat has gone up before, and is holding the cord which is fastened round Reynard's neck. Bruin stands immediately behind the fox to prevent his escape. On the opposite side of the gallows are shown Noble the lion with his queen, both crowned. In the centre of the picture Isegrim the wolf and "alle that were in the court," represented by a hare, a bird, now headless, and a rabbit, which is peeping from a hole, comprise the interested spectators.

There are two other misericords upon which the fox figures as chief actor, but these do not reproduce a scene from the *History of Reynard* as told by Caxton. They show the fox in monastic garb preaching to a congregation of geese, and the fox hung by geese. Although there are various references in the Caxton version to the fox having recourse to religion as a cloak for his misdeeds, he does not actually preach to a congregation of his victims, nor was he hanged by them. It is probable that these incidents may occur in other branches of the story.[1] That satire dependent upon arraying Reynard

[1] In *The Shifts of Reynardine, the Son of Reynard*, printed for Edward Brewster in 1684, the fox reads a lecture to a congregation of geese (chap. vii.), and is hanged for other delinquencies (chap. xxxii.). In *The most Pleasant and Delightful History of Reynard the Fox*—the second part, printed for the same in 1681, Reynard is hanged (chap. xxvii.). As these works reproduce events and characters from the French branches of the story, it is most probable that both incidents can be found in an earlier version. In considering the Bristol carvings, it must not be forgotten that the gallows is shown as an adjunct to the preaching scene, implying that in this case, hanging would result from preaching.

in ecclesiastical garb was practised and understood in France at the end of the thirteenth century is evinced by the fact that Philip the Fair delighted in processions of the clergy of Paris in which a fox, vested in surplice and wearing the papal tiara, devouring poultry as it went, formed a leading feature.[1] The fox preaching to geese is often represented in places where there is no further direct reference to the *History of Reynard*, as, for example, on an arm-rest of a stall at Christchurch, Hants, when no doubt its *raison d'être* was the satire understood by it, and not any allusion to the incidents of the Reynard story. The Bristol stalls were executed at a period approaching the Reformation, a time likely to be particularly favourable to satire of this kind. The two scenes of preaching and hanging might well be read in conjunction with each other, either as a warning against deceit on the part of the clergy, or as a protest against the growing frequency of sermons.[2]

In the preaching incident the fox in monastic habit occupies the central position in the picture, in a primitive box-like pulpit standing upon legs, and embellished by a pulpit cloth. In the entrance to the pulpit a second unrobed fox is seated, and is threatening with a staff a goose which is flying towards it. Eight other geese form the congregation, one of which appears to have fallen asleep under the somnolent influence of the sermon. The corner is filled by a rabbit's head peeping from a burrow, whilst gallows and rope are warningly depicted in the background.

In the hanging scene the fox, unvested, is shown on the gallows, being drawn up by two geese, one on either side, which are holding the rope in their beaks.

[1] See Introduction to *Le Roman de Renard, Mis en Vers par Ch. Potvin.* Paris Libraire Marpon et Flammarion, p. 76.

[2] See *Wood Carvings in English Churches*—I. *Misericords*, by Francis Bond, M.A., etc. Chap. xix., Oxford University Press.

Samson and the Lion.

"Leading Apes in Hell."

Another goose, anxious to accelerate matters, pulls the victim by the tail. Six more geese are present, and a rabbit looks from its hole. Both these subjects are unfortunately mutilated, many of the geese being headless.

The introduction of a rabbit[1] peeping from its burrow is a favourite and happy expedient in this series of misericords to fill and add interest to unneeded spaces, which is not without precedent elsewhere. In a carved wooden panel representing the story of St. George and the Dragon, of late fourteenth-century date, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, rabbits and holes are similarly introduced; and they can also be found in manuscript miniatures.

Another subject probably represents a scene from one of the developments of the *Reynard History*.[2] It occurs elsewhere in mediæval art, on other English misericords, as an incident in a picture in the Royal Gallery at Dresden attributed to the Netherlandish artist, Hendrik Met de Bles, and in manuscript illumination.[3]

In the Bristol carving a pedlar with a wallet on his back is lying on the ground; five apes, three of which are armed with clubs, surround him, and two of these are helping themselves to the contents of his pack, whilst one is at the same time seizing the pouch which is attached to his girdle.

On another misericord two quadrupeds, dancing on their hind-legs to the music of a drum beaten by a monkey, have been thought to be Isegrim and Bruin rejoicing at the downfall of Reynard.[4] One is certainly

[1] It may be questioned whether the head is sometimes that of a fox rather than of a rabbit; but in one carving in which the hindquarters of an animal are shown retiring into a hole the resemblance is certainly to a rabbit rather than to a fox.

[2] It is narrated in English at a later date in *The Shifts of Reynardine*. See paper by Mr. Robert Hall Warren, F.S.A., on "Misereres in Bristol Cathedral," *Proceedings Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. i.

[3] Dep. of MSS. British Museum, 10 E iv.

[4] See *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, by E. P. Evans, p. 215.

intended for a bear, and is muzzled, as are all the bears in the other carvings. The second animal is identical with the bear, except for the lack of a muzzle, and has a short stumpy tail, very different from that given to the wolf in the scene in which he assists at the gallows.

Amongst the subjects which can be identified with certainty two scriptural incidents are found, the Temptation, and Samson with the lion. The figures of Adam and Eve in the Temptation are ill-proportioned and coarsely executed; the serpent is given the alluring head of a woman.

The second scriptural scene shows Samson in belted tunic and low boots, with the jaw-bone of the ass conspicuous in his girdle, apparently "rending the lion as he would have rent a kid." A lioness is looking on from the background, whilst the characteristic rabbit is peeping in the corner. Samson's method of approach to the lion is a common one in mediæval art.[1]

That favourite topic, the Jaws of Hell, is represented, but in a very unusual way. A cloven-footed devil of grotesque aspect stands within a dragon's mouth occupying one side of the picture. He holds by their ropes four tethered apes, whilst a woman so surrounded that she cannot escape stands before him. In the moralization of the Bestiaries the ape represents the devil, and apes are sometimes shown as the emissaries who fetch souls into hell.[2] It is more probable, however, that the carving on this misericord refers to a proverbial saying which assigns to women who die single the occupation of leading apes in hell.[3] The devil is receiving the new-comer at the entrance to his domain, and is about

[1] Compare David and lion on twelfth-century ivory bookcover, British Museum, dep. MSS., Eg. 1139.

[2] See Miniature Dep. MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 18,192, f. 89*b*.

[3] For references to this saying see *Taming of the Shrew*, Act II. sc. i.—

> "I must dance barefoot on your wedding-day,
> And for your love to her lead apes in hell,"

and note on same in Henry Irving Shakespeare.

A Hunting Scene.

The Joust.

to hand her the ropes of the apes which she must henceforth lead.

Another bracket is decorated by a presentment of three individuals fleeing from a double-headed dragon. This may be intended for humanity pursued by the spirit of evil, or it may illustrate some story not yet identified. There was nothing incongruous to the mediæval mind in a composite monster of this description, for a belief in their existence was very general.[1]

Imaginary creatures fill another bracket. The subject is a mermaid approached on either side by a winged monster, the one a dragon, the other with body half human, half beast. This may have had reference to the allurements of those sins of the flesh which the mermaid was supposed to typify.

Another misericord shows the representation of a nun seated outside a building, from the presence of a chimney a domestic building, from the prominence of a spiral stairway at its angle possibly a religious house of some size. She is reading from a book upon a lectern; facing her is an owl perched upon a tree. Whether the meaning attached to the owl in the Physiologus,[2] where it states that it is employed figuratively to symbolize the Jews, can fairly be read into this scene is most doubtful. If so, it would provide the interpretation of the Church—the nun—instructing those ignorant of Christianity. There is nothing conclusive about the

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Much Ado about Nothing, Act II. sc. i.—

"Therefore I will even take sixpence in earnest of the bearherd, and lead his apes into hell."

And Shenstone, *To a Lady buried in Marriage*—

"Poor Gratia in her twentieth year,
Foreseeing future woe,
Chose to attend a monkey here
Before an ape below."

[1] See reference to writings of Giraldus Cambrensis in Wright's *History of Caricature*.

[2] See *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, by E. P. Evans, p. 77.

subject, and it is quite as likely to be a scene from an unidentified story.

A stall ornamented by a theme dealing with everyday life represents a pig-killing scene. Pig-killing is often portrayed in ancient calendars [1] to indicate the occupation for the closing month of the year. It is possible that this carving may be one of a series symbolizing the months, to which the chase on an adjoining bracket may also belong. As the pursuits for the remaining months are absent, it may be that the misericord refers to the occurrence only, without allusion to the season. Two men are arranging a pig upon a low four-legged bench; one of them holds in his right hand the knife with which it is to be killed. The pig's snout is bound by a rope. Beneath the bench are two rabbits, one looking out from, the other, the hind legs of which only are visible, retiring into, a burrow. A subject of similar description occurs on a misericord at Worcester, where an ox about to be slaughtered is depicted.

In the chase, a man in a short tunic, with a loose scarf-like cloak across his left shoulder, and wearing a quiver, full of arrows, is represented holding a dog by a leash, and following a stag, which is shown amongst trees looking back towards the hunter. The helpless way in which the stag looks round, and the tranquil nature of this hunting scene, lend colour to the suggestion that this may be a concrete rather than an abstract example of the chase, and may illustrate the fable of the hart and the hunter. A hart drinking at a well sees the reflection of his horns, which he praises, and of his legs, which he blames, because they are lean and small. When pursued by a hunter his legs would bear him to safety, did not his horns become entangled in a tree, and thus lead to his capture. The moral attached to this would make it a subject appropriate to a position in a

[1] See *Bedford Missal*, British Museum MSS., 18851, and MS. 29433.

church. The Caxton version gives it: "Men ought to dispraise that thing which is unprofitable and they ought to praise and love the Church, and the commandments of the same the which ben moche useful and proffitable, and dispraise and flee all sin and vice which ben inutyle harmeful and dommageable."[1]

In another carving a woman carrying a full sack upon her head is shown riding on a horse towards a windmill. This may be classed as a representation of everyday life; but the fact that a similar scene is given in a miniature to a manuscript in the British Museum,[2] in which nine other subjects on the Bristol misericords are illustrated, gives rise to a suspicion that the artist at Bristol may have had this manuscript, or a copy from it, for inspiration, in which case this carving may be a scene from a story. The suspicion is strengthened by the resemblance between one or two of the lesser grotesques in the manuscript and certain of the finials of the misericords, and also by the similarity in the minor detail of some of the principal subjects. In the manuscript the woman, on foot, carrying a sack on her head, approaches a mill identical with that shown on the misericord. The miller is within, and he and the woman are evidently arguing. In the next scene the sack is left on the ground, whilst the woman has gone to the back of the mill, where she

[1] See *Fables of Æsop as Printed by Caxton, 1484, with those of Avianus, Alfonso and Poggio.* R. Bentley.

[2] 10 E iv. Greg. ix. *Papæ Decretalium. A French XIV. Cent. MS. with English Miniatures.* It belonged to St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield. The scenes which are illustrated both in this manuscript and on the Bristol Misericords are—

Hanging of fox by poultry.
Fox preaching (in MS. in mitre, with crozier) to birds and geese.
Reynard being tried by lion.
Wrestlers with collars.
Mermaid attacked by monsters.
Burlesque of joust (in MS. hares riding on greyhounds).
Woman bringing sack to a mill.
Pedlar robbed by apes.
Stag being hunted.
A man and woman quarrelling beside a crock on a fire.

is engaged in lighting a fire beneath it; the miller is still inside, in ignorance of his danger.

One bracket is occupied with the presentment of a domestic quarrel. A man has just raised the cover of a three-legged pot standing over a fire. His intentions are suggested by the ladle which he holds under his arm. A woman has stepped hastily forward and seized him by the beard. He is forcibly remonstrating, and blows are about to ensue.

Another subject possibly referring to the less pleasing side of life shows a man seated backwards on a horse, the tail of which he is holding with his left hand, whilst he guides the rein with the right. A second man, on foot, follows, and is goading the horse forward with a stick. The rider probably represents a person in disgrace, for public indignation was often shown by setting an offender to ride face to tail.

Sports and pastimes receive their share of attention, at least three brackets being devoted to them. On one of these three wrestlers are depicted, all naked save for a loose strap about their necks, with which the two who are in the act of wrestling are grappling each other. The third, apparently the referee for the nonce, is tapping one of the opponents on the shoulder and pointing to his foot, the position of which he evidently considers unsatisfactory. A carving of the same subject, in which the actors are also wearing a necklet, occurs on the stalls at Gloucester Cathedral.

Tilting at the quintain and a joust are represented in caricature. In the tilting scene, a man armed with a stick having a disc-like termination, and riding on a bear, is charging at a sack, behind which stands a quadruped, possibly intended for a large dog, holding it firmly in its mouth, so that it would fail to respond to the blow. An owl is looking on from a tree.

The joust is between a man and a woman; the woman's weapon is a broom, the man's has been partly

Bear and Keepers.

Slug the Packman.

destroyed. The man, who is wearing a curious hood-like cap and chinpiece, doubtless a burlesque of a tilting helmet, is riding on a sow, the woman on a denizen of the poultry-yard. Caricatures of the joust and tournament were very popular during the Middle Ages, and can be met with, both in illumination and in sculpture.[1]

A contest with swords between a man and a quadruped with long rat-like tail occupies another bracket. A second similar beast is looking on. Both animals hold small round shields.

A scene in which two men are seated tailor-fashion *vis-à-vis* on a bench defies explanation. One has his right hand raised, palm outwards, to his face; with his left he holds his leg. The other has lost both arms, and there is nothing to indicate the nature of their occupation.

A very rough and unfinished carving shows a quadruped, possibly a mule, upon which an ape, seated on a sack evidently containing something, is riding. A man is following, holding the tail of the beast of burden with his right hand, and with his left beating it with a stick. Another subject represents two men pushing wheelbarrows towards a chained and muzzled bear. A dog or fox in the background is looking up into the bear's face, and another animal, too worn to be distinguished, is seen on its other side. This probably represents the bear which was kept for baiting, and its keepers. Men with a bear and wheelbarrow are also carved on a misericord at Beverley Minster, where are other scenes connected with bear-baiting.

An interesting bracket shows a huge slug, having on its back a well-corded pack; a rope passes round its neck, and, from traces which remain, was no doubt held by a man in a tunic and hosen. He appears to be encouraging the slug to move on, whilst another man,

[1] See above, Brit. Museum MS. 10 E iv. and Harl. 4380.

standing behind, is about to deal it a blow with a double-thonged whip.

A story of "Paul Elks and the Packman" occurs in William Howitt's *Boys' Country Book*. Paul Elks says he has murdered a packman, and when pursued by officers of the law his packman turns out to have been a snail. The whole story conveys the impression that "packman" was an accepted sobriquet for a snail, as "slug the packman" continues to be in some country districts. In all probability the carving on this misericord refers to the mediæval form of this idea; possibly to the original story, which first made the name popular. It was certainly a fitting name, for a snail is essentially a slug with a burden on its back.

Such are the central subjects of the Bristol stalls, but the imagination and ingenuity of the carver were by no means exhausted upon these. It overflowed to the finials of the brackets, where beasts playing on musical instruments, jesters with cap and bells, animals peeping from flowers, a variety of masks, three heads under one hat, and many kindred subjects are portrayed. Certain animals also figure in the decorative design of other portions of the stalls, such as the ornamental arcading which adorns the front of the book-rest, where a unicorn, various birds, a mermaid and a dog are introduced. Allegorical interpretations may possibly attach to some of the more general of these figures, but for the most part it seems probable that they were executed for their decorative value only, and were dictated merely by the whim of their artist.

The carving of the misericords, although very characteristic and spirited, is not of high quality in its execution. The work is coarse, and the figures are frequently ill-drawn and ill-proportioned. In many cases there is considerable expressiveness. The artist had evidently a better idea of the qualities of balance and spacing in design, than of correctness in drawing. The work is full

of interest, but it cannot be regarded as a fine example of technical skill.

The carvings are somewhat disappointing in the matter of costume. Nearly all the clothed male characters are represented in short belted tunics, the daily costume of the man-in-the-street of the period. The women are few in number, and afford little variety in their dress.

THE FAIRFORD WINDOWS

By Canon Carbonel

"The fair new Church at Fairford was begun by John Tame, and Edmund Tame finished it."

Leland made this entry in his *Itinerary* about the year 1542, but he does not say what part of the work is to be ascribed to the father and what to the son. The former, however, bequeathed to the church many valuable ornaments, while he did *not* specify glass for the windows. The following extract from his will shows how much the founder loved the church which he had built, and how anxious he was to make due provision for the dignity of its services—

"Item: I bequeath to the Church of Fairford a sute of fyne vestments of £80" (the figures are modernized). "Item: a sute of blake vestments with the apareilling of the Altar, £50. Item: 2 censers of silver with a ship of Frank and sense for £14 6*s*. 8*d*. Item: a gret 4th belle for £35. Item: a pax of silver for £6 13*s*. 8*d*. Item: a Cross of silver for £40. Item: to the 7 lights of the said Church £7. Item: 2 Candlesticks of silver, with cruetts, for £40. Item: for other ornaments about the Church to the value of £40."

It seems quite impossible that John Tame can have made such a will as this, omitting all mention of glass for the windows, except upon the supposition that it was already purchased or ordered. The will is dated January 1496, four years before the testator's death.

Where did he obtain these almost unique specimens of the glass-painter's art? All the county histories answer the question as follows: "John Tame, Esquire, Merchant, was ye first founder of this church, whose

son, Sir Edmund Tame, finish'd the same. He, being a merchant, took a ship that attaqued, in which was excellent paynted glass." And having in this way become possessed of the windows, the worthy merchant is said to have built a church to fit them.

The ship, in other versions of the story, is said to have been a Flemish vessel on its way to Italy.

But this privateering on the high seas is hardly likely to have taken place during a time of peace like the end of the fifteenth century. Nor is it conceivable that the architects of those days, receiving for their instructions several cases of painted glass in sections, would have been able to build a church so accurately fitting the windows and so exactly corresponding with the scheme of the artist who designed the series.

Careful examination will convince the student that the church was not built for the windows, but that the windows were made for the church. For in no case has the glass been cut down to suit the stonework, or pieced out to fill the required space. The grisaille figures in the tracery lights fit with the greatest accuracy into the openings of the stonework, as do also the canopies in the aisles and clerestory into the cinquefoil heads of the lights. The rainbow circles in the great west window were arranged so that the stonework of the two tiers of tracery lights should interfere as little as possible with the design.

The east windows of the north and south chapels form a *pair;* in each case the centre light of the five exhibits a picture which is out of its chronological place in the historical series that runs all round the eastern end of the church. This was so arranged by the artist in order that the Assumption of St. Mary might stand over the altar of the Lady Chapel, and the figure of Christ in Transfiguration over the altar of the Corpus Christi Chapel. But although these two windows are a pair, that in the north chapel is some three feet shorter and

two feet narrower than its companion in the south. The reason for this is that the vestry lies to the east of the Lady Chapel, and the bottom of the window had to be above the vestry roof.

Again, in the Lady Chapel all the pictures in the windows have some reference to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in the Corpus Christi Chapel (with two exceptions) to the Presence of our Lord's Body.

In this last-named chapel two of the subjects are compressed in such a way as to show that the designer was cramped for room. He knew that he must get these pictures into a given space if they were to be in the church at all, and he did not draw his cartoons with a free hand.

The glass was, therefore, intended to fit stonework of the exact shape of these windows at Fairford. It was designed for a church in which there were two chapels, one on either side of the high altar, and dedicated to St. Mary and the Corpus Christi.

The church for which the glass was made had three windows in each of these chapels and two only in the chancel; and it had its vestry in precisely the same position as that at Fairford.

All these considerations go a long way to prove that the windows were made for the church, and not the church for the windows, and they make the story of the capture at sea quite incredible.

Where, then, did John Tame get this wonderful glass, and who was the painter? In answer to the latter inquiry there is a statement, attributed with some little probability to Vandyck, that Albrecht Dürer was the painter. But that artist was only about twenty years of age when the windows were made, and his peculiar mannerisms of drawing—the crumpled angular folds of his draperies, his radiant halo in place of the more usual disc nimbus, his tendency to the grotesque—are everywhere absent.

The familiar monogram does not occur once. The horses in the east window are not in the least like Dürer's horses. One or two of the grotesques among the grisaille figures in the tracery lights resemble some of his woodcuts in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, but that is all that can be said.

Many reminiscences of Flemish art may, indeed, be found in the Fairford glass, but every one of them occurs also in the windows of King's College, Cambridge, which are demonstrably of English manufacture, for the original contracts still exist.

On November 30, 1515, Barnard Flower, "the king's glazier," entered into a contract with the authorities of King's College, Cambridge, for the glazing of the chapel there. He did not live to complete his work, but died in 1525 or 1526; and the college thereupon made a further contract with four glaziers living in London and two Flemings to finish the work as Barnard Flower had stood bound to do. The twenty-six windows of King's must contain quite six times the quantity of glass required for Fairford. There were, therefore, contractors in England capable of undertaking work of such character and magnitude as John Tame required, and they were assisted by Flemings. This fully accounts for the appearance of details suggestive of Flemish art at King's, and makes it more than probable that, in some instances, Flemish hands were employed in the execution of the designs prepared for Fairford. But the occurrence of the English royal badges, the "Rose en soleil" of Edward IV and the Prince of Wales's Feather and Motto, seems to stamp the Fairford glass as English.

Mr. Joyce, in his great work on these windows (Arundel Society, 1872), after carefully considering the subject, comes to the conclusion that the glass was made in England under an English contract, but that both German and Flemish workmen were employed in the

execution of the designs. This opinion is supported by Mr. Westlake in his *History of Design in Painted Glass*, by a close comparison of examples at Winchester and at Fairford.

Within the last few years it has been suggested by M. Edouard van Speybrouck of Bruges that the author of the Fairford windows was a Flemish artist named Aeps, of Louvain, who worked a good deal as a painter on glass for the churches and convents of that city (see the *Times Literary Supplement*, July 22, 1904). Aeps is said to have signed his work with the letter A and the figure of an ape. Now it so happens that in one of the western windows at Fairford, representing the execution of the Amalekite who came to David with the report of Saul's death, the letter A appears on the sword of the executioner, and an ape, supporting a shield, on one of the arms of David's throne. But if the letter and the ape were the signature of the painter, the A would surely appear on the shield which the ape carries. The lion on the opposite arm of the throne supports a shield displaying a crown, an obvious reference to the royal house sprung from the tribe of Judah; the ape's shield, however, is blank.

The occurrence of the letter A in drawings of swords and other weapons, on the spot where the maker usually engraves his name, is quite common (see Sir Samuel Meyrick in the *Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. ii. p. 106); and the representation of a monkey in a sacred picture is a detail often met with in the art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

On the whole it seems clear that the evidence for the Aeps authorship of the Fairford windows is insufficient. He is said to have *lived* from 1480 to 1528. If these dates are correct, it is hardly probable that he was the painter of the windows which John Tame must have ordered before he made his will in 1496.

With regard to the subjects which were selected for

Stained-glass Window, Fairford.

illustration in the Fairford windows, it should be remembered that from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards many series of pictures were published representing our Lord's life and work.

The poorer classes were unable to read, and these collections of pictures were intended to be, and were sometimes called, "Biblia pauperum." What more natural than that a successful and wealthy merchant like John Tame should have wished to provide his retainers and dependants with a summary of the Christian faith in a pictorial form? He might well hope that, living with such windows in their parish church, the Fairford folk would hold fast the faith once delivered unto the saints.

At some time or other the glass was removed from the stonework and replaced by workmen who were not under skilled supervision; for when the present writer came to Fairford in 1888 the order of the lights was quite wrong in the north aisle; every single figure had been displaced. The clerestory windows have also changed places. The lights were made in three sections: the cinquefoil head, a middle and a lower portion of two or three panels each. In several instances in the clerestory the canopy does not now fit the section over which it is placed; and it was found impossible to discover the order in which the figures originally stood. Caiaphas, in window No. XXV, had been taken to pieces and put together again wrongly; the lowest panel of the light was inside out, so that the legs and feet of the figure walked towards the east, while the head and shoulders faced west. St. Luke, in the north aisle, was wholly inside out, and held his book of the Gospel in the right hand, while he wrote in it with the left. There were numerous other instances of whole panels, or portions of them, upside down, inside out, leaded in in the wrong place, or even in the wrong window.

Bigland, in his *Account of the Parish of Fairford,*

1791, says that "during the commotions, when the Republican army were on the march to Cirencester, William Oldysworth, Esq., the Impropriator, fearing its destruction, caused the whole to be taken down and concealed." If Bigland is right in his facts, the removal must have taken place in 1643, when Cirencester fell for a few hours into the hands of the Parliamentary soldiers under Essex. In 1660, however, when Antony à Wood visited Fairford, "Mr. Willm Oldswert, the Impropriator did, with great curtisie, show him the beautiful Church there, and the most curioss paynted windows set up in the reigne of K. Henry VII. The said Church, Sir Edmund Thame, Knt. (who died 1534), did finishe, having been begun by his father John Thame, Esq., who died in 1500."

Whenever the removal occurred, it was probably hurried, and the refixing was certainly careless, for there was much damage and displacement. In 1703 a terrible storm shattered the three western windows, portions of them being blown in, *stonework and all.* The broken glass was carefully collected and pieced together again, as far as was found to be practicable, but piteous gaps remained. About the middle of the nineteenth century an effort was made to repair this damage. The glass that survived in the upper half of the great west window was sent away to be "restored," whereupon it disappeared! The present writer, with great difficulty, hunted up and recovered a few fragments of it in 1890. Some were found in Birmingham and some in London. Mr. Westlake saw specimens of the Fairford glass thirty years ago in a museum in Belgium! What came back after "restoration" was a *copy* of such old work as remained, the gaps being filled in to correspond with the original.

The two western lights of window No. XII, near the font, suffered restoration at the same time; and though, in their case, the treatment was not perhaps quite so drastic, it was sufficient to ruin them for ever.

Strictly speaking, there is no *painting* on glass at Fairford. The only pigment used by the artist was a sepia-like brown. This was in many instances laid on in one uniform "wash," and the "lights" were wiped out with instruments of varying degrees of bluntness while the wash was still wet. The beautiful colours (with the exception of the yellow "stain") are all in the metal as it came out of the melting-pots; so that this is pot-metal shaded rather than painted glass.

The glass varies greatly in thickness, from a quarter to one-sixteenth of an inch. It is very opaque. When the sun shines upon the old unrestored windows no coloured light comes through, only diffused daylight; while in the case of the "restorations" the sun throws a coloured picture on the floor or the neighbouring wall.

When coloured light comes through any piece of glass, it usually stamps it as not being part of the original glazing.

There are in Fairford Church twenty-eight windows, filled with this matchless old glass, and most of it is in a good state of preservation. The whole series forms one connected scheme, in which each window and each light had its allotted place. In the aisles and clerestory we find the prophets of the Faith, the apostles of the Faith, the historians of the Faith, the defenders of the Faith, the persecutors of the Faith, the martyrs and confessors of the Faith; in the chancel and side chapels the history of the Faith, and in the western windows the reward of the faithful and the doom of the faithless.

Within the screens there are eight windows, containing a consecutive series of pictures illustrating the Gospel history. These are introduced by four typical subjects from the Old Testament, and, because from the Old Testament, therefore placed just outside the screen in window No. I.

These four subjects are—

i. The Serpent and Eve; the companion picture to the angel Gabriel and St. Mary in No. III.

ii. The Burning Bush; a type of the Blessed Virgin, who was not consumed, although she became the mother of the Son of God.

iii. Gideon receiving the proof of the Divine presence and power which he asked for: the dew falling on the fleece, but not on the ground, and then on the ground, but not on the fleece. So, in later times, to St. Mary alone among the daughters of men it was said: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee."

iv. The Queen of Sheba and Solomon; a companion to the Visit of the Magi to the "King of the Jews" in No. III.

Passing through the screen, we enter the Lady Chapel, and there find, to begin with, the history of St. Mary; the scenes being taken from the apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy.

In window No. II there are represented—

i. The meeting of St. Joachim and St. Anne at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple.

ii. The infancy of St. Mary.

iii. St. Mary, as a child, going into the Temple to dedicate herself to God.

iv. The Marriage of St. Mary and St. Joseph.

Window No. III contains—

i. The Annunciation.

ii. The Nativity in the Stable.

iii. The Adoration of the Magi, *mis*represented as taking place in the same stable.

iv. The Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple. This should have been placed before, not after, the Visit of the Magi.

In window No. IV are—

i. The Flight into Egypt, occupying two lights. St. Mary is feeding the Infant Jesus with fruit which St.

Joseph picks from a tree, while angels bend down the branches to enable him to reach it.

In the middle of the tree is a subsidiary picture giving the reason of the journey to Egypt: the Slaughter of the Innocents.

iii. The Child Jesus among the Doctors in the Temple, also filling two lights. There is the usual error: our Lord is enthroned on a daïs, the doctors sit on a form at His feet.

ii. Between these two pictures is the Assumption of St. Mary, placed here, out of its chronological place in the series, in order that it might stand over the altar of the Lady Chapel.

Prior to the restoration in 1889, the lower part of four of these lights was obscured by the vestry roof outside; it was so placed as to rise above the bottom of the window. The roof was taken down and refixed at a lower pitch, in order to expose the whole of the glass.

No. V is the east window, and exhibits the Passion of our Blessed Lord. Above the transom is the scene at Calvary, occupying five lights.

A Jewish priest and a Roman soldier *both* hold the spear which pierces the side. St. Mary sinks fainting to the ground, and is supported by St. John. By his side kneels Mary Magdalene, looking up at our Lord.

An angel waits with outstretched hands for the soul of the penitent thief: a demon is in a similar position over the impenitent.

Longinus confesses his belief. Pilate and his suite look on at the execution. The soldiers and spectators are mounted—all but one, a foot-soldier who stands close to Pilate, and bears upon his belt the motto: *Juge sans besoin.*

Below the transom are five scenes representing the events of the Holy Week—

i. The Triumphal Entry. Our Lord is riding to the gate of Jerusalem, and is received by men and boys

singing "Gloria, Laus et Honor." One of the boys holds a scroll with the words and music.

ii. The Agony in the Garden. On the rock in front of our Lord is a golden chalice (perhaps symbolical of the prayer). Judas and his band enter through a doorway in the distance.

iii. Pilate washing his hands before the multitude.

iv. The Scourging. Pilate and the high priest are spectators.

v. The Bearing of the Cross; the two thieves in the middle distance; Calvary in the background, with two crosses already erected; and the soldiers digging a hole for a third.

Window No. VI has three lights—

i. The Removal of our Lord's Body from the Cross.

ii. The Burial in the Garden; Calvary, with its three crosses, in the distance.

iii. The Descent into Hades, and the preaching to the "spirits in prison." There is a striking representation of an imprisoned soul, with uplifted hands appealing for release.

Passing now to the south chapel, dedicated to the (Sacramental) Corpus Christi, we find that nearly all the scenes in the windows have some reference to the presence of our Lord's Body. At the same time they carry on the Gospel history. Window No. VII forms a pair with No. IV, as already mentioned. It contains three subjects, occupying five lights—

i. An appearance of our Lord, after His Resurrection, to St. Mary.

iii. He meets the three holy women as they return from the sepulchre. In the background is a subsidiary scene: the holy women at the tomb in St. Joseph's garden, and the angel announcing the Resurrection. Both i. and iii. fill two lights each.

ii. Between the two, and over the altar of the Corpus Christi Chapel, is the Transfiguration, the one occasion

Stained-glass Window, Fairford.

when something of the Divine glory shone through the veil which ordinarily hid it. An obvious reference to the presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. On His breast is a circular wafer of the Sacramental Bread, bearing the sacred monogram IHS (the usual contracted form of IHSOUS, as found in the Greek uncial MSS.). Moses and Elijah are below the feet of our Lord, and Peter, James and John in the foreground. On the two tables in Moses' hands is inscribed, not the Decalogue, but the Apostles' Creed!

Window No. VIII shows—

i. The appearance of the risen Lord to Cleopas and his friend at Emmaus, when He made Himself known to them in the Breaking of the Bread.

ii. St. Thomas receiving the demonstrative evidence of the Resurrection which he had demanded, and hearing at the same time the emphatic statement of our Lord: "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." The subject was obviously selected in order to encourage the faith of communicants—

> "What if Thy form we cannot see?
> We know and feel that thou art here."

This window suffered serious damage at the time of the hurried removal and careless replacement of the glass. A great deal of breakage occurred; several fragments belonging to other windows were leaded in here, and in the refixing about a quarter of the glass was displaced. The errors have now been corrected as far as possible.

Window No. IX has three subjects—

i. (Occupying two lights.) The second miraculous draught of fishes, and our Lord inviting His disciples: "Come and break your fast." The fish are laid on the fire of coals in the foreground. The Corpus Christi is the Spiritual Food of the Church.

ii. The Ascension.

iii. Pentecost.

These last are the two lights already referred to, which make it evident that the artist who drew the cartoons was working to dimensions which were given him. The groups of figures are squeezed together by the stone mullions on either side. The series was unquestionably made for a church with just the same number of windows as Fairford actually possesses, and therefore probably for Fairford itself.

In the nave and aisles the windows exhibit a series of figures with canopies *arranged in pairs*. Each has his *vis-à-vis* on the opposite side of the church.

For instance, in the north aisle are twelve Prophets, each bearing over his head a text quoted from his own writings (there are three errors) which is *relative to* the Article of the Faith displayed by the Apostle opposite to him on the south side.

Thus Jeremiah, with "Thou shalt call Me, My Father," who "hast made the heaven and the earth" (iii. 19 and xxxii. 17), is opposite to St. Peter, who has on his scroll: "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth."

David, bearing the text: "Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee," faces St. Andrew, with the second article of the Creed: "And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord."

And Isaiah, displaying his prophecy of the Incarnation: "Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son," is opposite St. James, who has over his head: "Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," and so on, all through the Creed. This arrangement enabled the writer, when the windows were releaded in 1889, to replace all the lights in their original positions.

To the west of this series the four evangelists in window XIII stand opposite to the four Latin Fathers in No. XVII. The historians of the Faith are facing the defenders of the Faith.

In the clerestory, twelve persecutors on the north, with demons in the tracery over their heads, are face to face with twelve martyrs and confessors on the south, with angels over them.

In their original positions, these figures were doubtless arranged in pairs like those in the aisles; for in the two windows at the west end of the series we find Judas Iscariot between Annas and Caiaphas (a traitor Apostle between two persecuting priests), opposite to a sainted pope between two sainted cardinals. But unfortunately only a few of the figures in the clerestory can now be identified, and no clue to their original position could be discovered.

The three western windows of the church form a triptych; the subject is JUDGMENT.

On either side is a typical Old Testament judgment: the sentence of David on the Amalekite who claimed to have killed Saul (strict justice) in No. XIV; and the decision of Solomon between the rival women, each claiming to be the mother of the living child (instant detection of falsehood), in No. XVI.

The west window, No. XV, represents the second Advent of our Blessed Lord, the Resurrection of the Dead and the final Judgment.

He comes in the clouds of heaven, and all His holy angels with Him; beneath His feet the world in ruins; His throne a rainbow; the outer circles are formed of groups of apostles and angels.

St. Michael stands in the foreground, in the midst of the opening graves, and weighs the souls in his balance.

Angels receive the dead as they rise on the right and bear them away to the Golden Gate, where St. Peter stands with his keys of office.

On the left, hideous demons seize those who are rising from their graves and bear them off to an inferno, in which they are put to horrible tortures.

All this detail, however, does not at once catch the

eye, and some of it can only be made out after careful examination with a binocular. The general effect is a blaze of splendid colour. Even after twenty years of familiarity with the windows, the writer often stops on his way out of church after evensong, especially in the autumn, to wonder at the depth and tone of these glowing rubies, and to mourn over the great storm and the even more destructive "restoration" which have quite ruined the upper half of this magnificent picture.

It will be well, in conclusion, to record exactly what was done when the windows were re-leaded in 1889.

The writer first carefully examined every light, and marked with a piece of gummed paper every section, panel or fragment that was inside out, upside down, or otherwise misplaced. On the paper instructions to the glazier were written: "panel inside out," "section of body upside down," and so on.

Then a re-examination of the whole series was undertaken, with a view to the replacement of fragments which had got into wrong places. This was done light by light. For instance, careful inspection of a certain figure showed that a mitre was missing, together with the staff of the crozier, some portions of a blue cope, and half of the pedestal. With all the missing portions well in mind, search was then made among the fragments of glass *out of place*, and already marked; on the discovery of any bit that seemed likely to fill one of the gaps in the figure under treatment, a tracing was made and placed in the gap, when it became at once apparent whether this was really the missing fragment for which search was being made or not. If it fitted, directions to the glazier were written on the attached papers in both places. This was done throughout the whole series of windows before the glaziers began their work, so that when they arrived they found instructions awaiting them how to deal with the various *lacunæ* and errors.

But even when all the scattered fragments were

brought back to their original positions there still remained in many places serious gaps, which had been made good with diamond quarries of ordinary white glass. It was absolutely necessary to get rid of this, for wherever it occurred it produced the effect which photographers call "halation," and attracted the eye before the details of the picture itself.

It was decided to fill in these gaps with stippled glass of a sepia colour, and of a depth of tint corresponding with the surroundings in each case.

The diamond shapes of the old leading were done away with altogether, and the lines of the new leadwork were arranged in such a manner as to continue the outlines of the cartoon, and so help the eye, as far as possible, to bridge the gap.

The result was in every way satisfactory; there was no attempt at "restoration," nor any confusion of new work with the old; nevertheless, the numerous gaps were made far less conspicuous than they had been.

Windows No. XIV and No. XVI were too much damaged for this treatment, and there the stippled glass was leaded in in squares.

The mechanical work was done, and very carefully done, in Fairford, under the writer's own eye, by four glaziers from Messrs. Lavers & Westlake's works in Endell Street. The re-leading took just twelve months.

It was found that the glass had, much of it, been attacked chemically on the outside by some reagent which was decomposing it; in places it had been eaten nearly through. This process will certainly go on, though slowly. In time there will appear numbers of holes where the glass has been pierced by this corrosive action. For the present, however, it remains a standing monument of the art and skill of the fifteenth century.

To fully appreciate its beauty it is necessary to live with it; but when once these glorious colours have made their impression on the mind and memory, almost all

other windows seem thin, washed-out and cold by comparison.

All honour to the memory of John and Edmund Tame, to whose piety and liberality we owe these splendid examples of an art which is well-nigh lost.

And beside the names of the founders, the name of William Oldysworth should be written, for that he, in a day of trouble, rebuke and blasphemy, did what he could to save this matchless glass from the ignorant fanaticism of the iconoclast.

THE BRISTOL RIOTS

By Alfred Harvey

When the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords in 1831 set England in a blaze, in no place was the local feeling more keen than in Bristol. At first sight this is strange, as, unlike Birmingham and Manchester, the city already possessed two representatives in Parliament, and had no expectation, or at the time desire, of obtaining a greater representation. But the electorate was a very small one, and the great mass of the population, not only of the artisan class, but also of the middle class, were as utterly unrepresented as in the great manufacturing towns of the north. Further, the question of Parliamentary Reform was locally mixed up with the question of municipal reform. The governing body of the city was one of the closest of the old close corporations; a narrow Tory oligarchy, utterly out of sympathy and out of touch with the great mass of the citizens, who not only had no sense of possession, no pride in their ruling body, but were thoroughly antagonistic to it. It came out in evidence over and over again at the trials which followed the lamentable riots that well-dressed and respectable citizens, called upon when the riots were at their height and Queen Square was in flames, to lend their assistance in the preservation of life and property, had answered: "It is only Corporation property; let the Corporation look to it."

Thus the Political Union, whose vice-president and real head was Mr. W. Herapath, a member of a family long honourably known in Bristol, was extremely powerful, and numbered several thousand adherents. It had

secured that, in spite of the restricted franchise, the city was represented for the first time for half a century by two reformers, a Whig and a Radical, and it had recently sent up to Parliament a petition in favour of the Bill bearing twelve thousand signatures. Further, whether owing to the exertions of the Union, or because the Corporation felt that it was time to set its house in order, a reformer, Mr. Charles Pinney, had recently been elected mayor; in an evil moment for himself, as he became the figurehead and spokesman, and ultimately the scapegoat, for a set of men and a policy with which he was out of harmony.

In addition to the Political Union with its constitutional agitation there was the Bristol mob to be reckoned with. The local mob had long been notorious for its turbulence; and only a few years before, when the Corporation broke faith with the citizens on the question of freeing the bridge from toll, there had been serious rioting, with much bloodshed and loss of life. The mob was composed chiefly of dockers and casual labourers—always very numerous in a busy seaport—and they could always depend, when any fighting was in prospect, on reinforcements from the rough and violent miners from Kingswood Forest, a little way removed from the city boundary; and at this juncture both miners and labourers were, or believed themselves to be, on the side of reform.

With this inflammable material only a spark was needed to start a conflagration, and the spark was found in the visit of the Recorder for the October Assize, 1831. The position of the Recorder of Bristol in the days of the unreformed Corporation was a peculiar one: in the city and county of Bristol he had the rank of a Judge of the High Court, with all its powers and honour, and he was also *ex officio* an alderman, and so a member of the unpopular Corporation.

It was unfortunate that in this crisis the recordership

was held by the able but eccentric Sir Charles Wetherell, who, at the head of the most reactionary Tories, was leading the bitter and uncompromising opposition to the Reform Bill in the House of Commons. He had roused much local indignation by stating in the House that Bristol was indifferent to reform, at a time when even its opponents recognized that at Bristol the feeling for reform was very general—in fact, universal; and at the time in question he, who had recently been the idol of the mob, was the most unpopular, best-hated man in the city.

The day appointed for the opening of the Commission of Assize was fixed for Saturday, October 29, 1831, and it had come to the knowledge of the magistrates, in the way such things do, that rioting was to be expected. They, therefore, when meeting in Quarter Session on October 17, discussed the situation, and agreed that, as the calendar was a light one, it was expedient that the gaol delivery should be postponed. A deputation, consisting of the under-sheriff, the city solicitor and one of the aldermen, was appointed to see the Recorder and the Home Secretary. Sir Charles Wetherell gave it as his opinion, as a question of law, that the assize must be held; and Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary, gave the same opinion, with the recommendation that there should be no departure, or as little as possible, from the established custom of receiving the Recorder. When appealed to as to the propriety of shortening the procession, he said he thought it a judicious suggestion, but that in other respects he wished the usual course to be taken. Appealed to for troops, he promised that some should be sent, with the understanding that they were not to be used except in the last extremity, and the advice that they were not to be seen, so that it might not appear that the populace were to be kept under by military power.

Lord Melbourne had previously consulted with the

members for the city, and he seems to have been entirely misguided as to the difficulty and danger of the situation. His consent to the use of military force appears to have been reluctant, and the number actually sent inadequate. The Radical member, Mr. Protheroe, had stated to him that he could, with the help of his friends —meaning the Political Union—keep all in perfect order, and had offered to accompany the Recorder on his entry into Bristol; the offer was, however, coupled with such conditions that it was not accepted, and probably was not intended to be.

In accordance with the Home Secretary's promise, one troop of the 3rd Dragoon Guards and two of the 14th Light Dragoons, in all about a hundred men, were sent down a few days before the assize, and quartered, the 3rd at Keynsham and the 14th at Clifton. They were placed under Colonel Brereton, who was in charge of the recruiting office at Bristol, as the senior officer in the district. Colonel Brereton, who was to become one of the principal actors in the tragedy which ensued, was a man whose personal courage was undoubted; but he was ease-loving—he seems to have been the only man in authority who spent the momentous nights of October 29 and 30 in bed—and he evinced an indisposition to accept responsibility, as culpable as it was unusual in an officer holding the position he did. In fact, his conduct gave rise to a widespread, though unfounded, opinion that he had received secret orders from headquarters to do nothing. There can be no doubt that a more prompt and vigorous action on his part would have averted much loss of life and destruction of property, and this he seems to have felt when he anticipated the verdict of the court-martial by taking his own life.

In the meantime the magistrates made what preparations they could; an unofficial attempt was first made to enrol the sailors then in port as special constables; but the seamen carried a resolution "that they will not allow

View of the City of Bristol as it appeared during the Riots of October 1831.

themselves to be made a cat's-paw of by the Corporation or their paid agents." The authorities then approached the leaders of the Political Union, who promised assistance; but the promise was withdrawn when it was learned that the military were to be employed. The council of the Union, however, issued a proclamation which, after reflecting on the conduct of the Corporation, concluded by calling on the members of the Union and reformers generally to use their most strenuous endeavours for the preservation of the public peace. This was posted on Tuesday, October 25, and the next day the town clerk published a notice to the same effect. In the meantime the under-sheriff, Mr. Hare, who was responsible for the protection of the Recorder, applied for volunteers to raise the constabulary from its normal number of 100 to 300, a force which he judged sufficient for the preservation of the peace. So great was the apathy or the antagonism of the populace that only about eighty volunteered, and the complement had to be made up by hiring men, some of whom were of undesirable character. These hired special constables were particularly obnoxious to the mob, by whom they were nicknamed the bludgeon-men. As a further precaution it was privately arranged that Sir C. Wetherell should make his entry at an early hour, instead of, as usual, in the afternoon.

The Recorder made his public entry on Saturday, October 29. At eight a.m. the special constables were drawn up in the Exchange, where they were inspected by the mayor, who briefly addressed them, urging them to act with temperance and firmness, and to do all in their power to avoid provoking the multitude. They were then marched out to line the route. The troops had previously been posted on either side the route, out of sight. The sheriff, with the javelin men, then drove out in perfect quiet and met Sir Charles at the city boundary at Totterdown, not far from the present rail-

way station, thus shortening the procession by about two miles. The journey back to the Guildhall was through a noisy and excited crowd, and there was some throwing of stones, but not much harm done; and the popular indignation seemed to be directed at the "bludgeon-men" even more than against the Recorder. For the last three or four hundred yards, along the narrow High Street, the crowd was so dense that the procession made its way with difficulty; but the Guildhall was reached at about a quarter to eleven. On alighting from the carriage, the Recorder was received with a volley of stones, but he managed to enter the building safely, though the under-sheriff was severely injured. The formalities of opening the commission were performed amid indescribable noise and confusion; the ceremony only lasted a few minutes, and the court was at once adjourned till the following Monday. It was not thought prudent for the Recorder to leave immediately, and a pause of half-an-hour was made, during which the crowd rather increased than diminished, and all exits from the Guildhall were closely watched by the mob. The short journey to the Mansion House in the mayor's carriage was, however, accomplished safely through scenes resembling those of the earlier journey, but with more violence, most of the constables protecting the carriage being more or less injured. On alighting, the Recorder again was greeted with a volley of stones, but once more escaped injury.

Queen Square, in which the Mansion House was situated, which was to become the chief centre of the rioting, is situated close to the centre of the town, but away from any main thoroughfare. It occupies the greater part of a peninsula, being nearly surrounded by the arms of the floating harbour, having the quay known as Welch Back to the east, the Grove to the south, and the Narrow Quay to the west; on the north only was there communication by land with the city.

On the east and south the houses of the square opened behind on to the quays; on the west they were separated by one intervening street. The various quays were crowded with shipping, chiefly small craft; but there were two or more West Indiamen in the harbour, and, being Saturday, a large number of market boats from the Severn and Channel ports: all, with their sails, cordage and cargoes, a mass of inflammable material. The square itself, one of the finest in England, had for some time ceased to be the fashionable quarter of the town, but its stately Queen Anne and early Georgian houses were still inhabited by wealthy and reputable merchants and professional men, many of the former having their wharves and warehouses on the quays adjoining. Two of the houses were occupied by ladies' schools, one of which, that of Mrs. Phillips, was of considerable reputation in its day, and has lately enjoyed a posthumous celebrity as the scene of some of the incidents of Mr. Stanley Weyman's brilliant novel, *Chippinge*. In the centre of the north side was the Custom House, and at the extreme east of the same side, at the corner of Charlotte Street, stood the Mansion House, some two or three private houses intervening between the public buildings. The centre of the square, in the middle of which was, and is, Rysbrach's fine equestrian statue of William III, was laid out with turf and public walks, and it was surrounded by a dwarf wall with iron railings, which proved to be excellent weapons for the rioters.

Into this square now poured all the idle or unoccupied people of Bristol. Most of them seem to have been decently or respectably dressed and quiet in their demeanour; but they certainly showed no indignation at the conduct of the few noisy and violent members of the crowd, and made no sort of attempt to enforce or support order; on the contrary, they appear to have encouraged them with a sort of tacit sympathy.

In the meantime the magistrates had assembled according to custom to meet the Recorder, and within the Mansion House were the mayor, Mr. Pinney, Sir Charles Wetherell, all the city magistrates then in Bristol, together with the town clerk, an able lawyer Sergeant Ludlow, and the deputy sheriff, while Major Mackworth, aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, who happened to be in Bristol, was in and out; it was on the advice of Mr. Ludlow and Major Mackworth that the mayor chiefly relied during the troubled scenes that followed. The special constables were massed in front of the house, but there seems to have been no difficulty of access for officials or respectable citizens.

Stone-throwing began at once; at first there seem to have been not more than fifty, or at most a hundred, disturbers of the peace, and for an hour or two it did not appear to the authorities that anything serious was to be apprehended. Toward three o'clock in the afternoon, however, the rioters seemed to get more numerous and daring; the prisoners who had been captured by the special constables were rescued when on their way to the Bridewell, and the town clerk advised that the soldiers should be sent for. Sir Charles Wetherell, however, gave it as his opinion that there was not a sufficient case to justify the magistrates in sending for the military, and they were not yet summoned; but the precaution was taken of moving their quarters to the centre of the town. The mob continued to increase; they became more infuriated when one of their number had his skull fractured by a blow from the staff of a special constable, and, armed with sticks, they made a determined attack on the Mansion House. They were beaten back for a time, but at four o'clock half the constables, who had been on continuous duty since dawn, were dismissed for two hours for refreshment. This was the signal for a renewed attack, and from this moment the rioters had the upper hand.

The mayor now, at the peril of his life, came out and addressed the crowd, pointing out the consequences of their conduct and imploring them to disperse. His efforts were unavailing, and he was driven back by a shower of stones. There was now a general attack on the building, the iron railings of the square being torn up and used as weapons; trees also were torn up by the roots and converted into weapons of destruction, and brick walls thrown down to furnish missiles. At five o'clock the Riot Act was read and the troops sent for; and on their arrival it was to find the ground floor of the house in possession of the mob, who had destroyed the furniture and were preparing to set fire to the edifice.

At this juncture Sir Charles Wetherell made his escape, concealing his famous "lucid interval" beneath a postillion's great-coat. He got away by means of the roof, and by a ladder reached a neighbouring house in safety, and so gained a place of shelter in a distant suburb, where he remained till late at night before he ventured to leave for London. There is no doubt that, had he been discovered, he would have been murdered.

The arrival of the troops saved the Mansion House for a time, but did not lessen the turbulence of the mob. The soldiers, it is true, were received good-humouredly, with cheers for the king and reform; and Colonel Brereton spent most of the evening riding up and down the square, shaking hands with the rioters and advising them to disperse quietly. Within the Mansion House there seems to have been much confusion and divided counsel: the town clerk and some of the aldermen were insistent that the soldiers should fire on the crowd; Major Mackworth advised very earnestly against this course; and as Colonel Brereton reported that the people were in very good humour and that he should disperse them by riding his troops about, the mayor wisely, as well as humanely, followed the counsel of his military adviser. Toward midnight, however, when there was

no sign of the disturbance subsiding, peremptory orders were given to clear the streets. The soldiers then drew their swords and rapidly cleared the square, driving the mob before them through the streets to the limits of the borough. In this operation only one life was lost, one of the troopers of the 14th firing against orders. It was then thought safe to remove the soldiers to their quarters, leaving pickets at the Mansion House and the Council House.

Up to this time no very unusual harm had been done; an attack on the Mansion House such as had taken place was looked on in Bristol as an ordinary amenity of a contested election, and Colonel Brereton appeared to be justified in his gentle measures. The mayor remained all night at the Mansion House, but it was thought safe for his companions to leave for home during the small hours of the night.

Sunday, the 30th, dawned cold and very wet, a favourable condition from the point of view of the authorities. The town was quite quiet, but a few hundred people assembled early in Queen Square, more out of curiosity than for mischief. At this juncture the guard, who had been on duty all night, were sent away for rest, unfortunately without any provision for their relief. This was the signal for renewed rioting of a more determined and organized character than before; the Mansion House was again attacked, its well-stocked cellars looted; and from this moment the mob, inflamed with rage and wine, obtained the upper hand. The mayor was reluctantly persuaded to leave the building, and, assisted by Major Mackworth, he with difficulty escaped over the roofs of the neighbouring houses and withdrew to the Council House. This occurred at about eight in the morning. The speedy return of some troops postponed the threatened destruction of the square.

From the Council House proclamations were issued, stating that Sir Charles Wetherell had left the town, and

calling upon the citizens to repair to the Guildhall to assist in preserving order. Similar proclamations were sent to the churches and chapels to be read at divine service. Very few citizens answered the appeal; those who did gave much advice, some good and some ridiculous, but they were divided in their council: some would act only with the military; others, the members of the reforming party, only if they were dismissed; in any case their numbers were too small for any sort of effective action, and nothing was done.

While this was going on Colonel Brereton thought it wise, against the judgment of the magistrates, to remove the troops of the 14th from the town, leaving only the handful of the 3rd regiment, who appear not to have been trustworthy. In their passage through the streets on the way to Keynsham the troopers had to fight their way; many shots were fired, and at least one of the crowd was killed and many wounded.

After their departure a cry was raised in the square: "To the Bridewell." This was an old gaol near the Council House where a few prisoners were confined. The cry was no sooner raised than acted upon: a small but apparently organized body made their way there at once, followed by a crowd of spectators. The gates of the prison were immediately destroyed, the prisoners released, and the gaol set on fire. From the Bridewell a vast crowd marched through the centre of the town to the New Prison, a strongly built and defended mass of masonry on an island between the Floating Harbour and the New Cut, a deep channel carrying the tidal waters of the Avon. This apparently impregnable work, too, was soon stormed, the prisoners, 175 in number, released, and the governor's house burned. Here a few magistrates and well-known citizens made a last vain effort to reason with the infuriated mob, and a detachment of the 3rd Dragoons rode up, but made no attempt to restrain their proceedings. After the destruc-

tion of the prison the toll-houses were burned, notice being first given to the keepers to remove their effects. Next a move was made to the Gloucester County Prison at Lawford's Gate, and this met with the same fate as the other gaols.

In the meantime a small number of rioters had made a preliminary attack on the bishop's palace; they sacked the wine-cellar, but were held at bay by a few private citizens while the troops were sent for from the square. The moment they left—that is, about five in the evening—the Mansion House was set on fire; fortunately most of the valuable pictures had been removed, and the whole of the unrivalled civic plate. One piece of the latter, an Elizabethan rose-water dish, was stolen in transit and cut to pieces, but afterwards recovered. Still, the destruction of property was very great. The soldiers hurried back, but were too late to do more than for a short time preserve the other houses in the square; and soon after the palace was set on fire. It was then proposed to fire the cathedral, but this was saved by the prompt and energetic action of a few courageous citizens.

The soldiers were now drawn off to protect the Council House, which, it was expected, would be the next building to be attacked, and the square left to its fate. A move was immediately made to the Custom House, which was looted and fired; it is believed that several rioters who were feasting there perished in the fire. The Excise Office followed, and then the private houses were systematically fired one after another, warning being given to such inhabitants as remained, in time to save themselves, but not their effects. By midnight the whole of the north side of the square was in flames, and before morning all the houses of the west side, except two, had likewise perished.

The mayor had earlier in the day sent a post to the Home Secretary and messengers to Gloucester and other places where troops were stationed, and in answer to

his urgent appeal Captain Codrington, with fifty or sixty newly raised yeomanry, rode in from Dodington. They reached Bristol soon after ten at night, but such was the mismanagement that they found no one to give them orders or instructions. On applying to Colonel Brereton, he actually advised them to return, and this though quarters had been provided for them in the city. After waiting about in a state of uncertainty for about two hours they reluctantly followed his advice.

The town seemed at this time utterly given over to the mob, but morning brought a change. The townsfolk were now as eager to aid as they had been before apathetic. The *posse comitatus* was called out under thirty deputy sheriffs; the Political Union raised a powerful contingent, and at last the military began to act with vigour. Major Mackworth suggested to Brereton the propriety of a charge, and, without waiting for a reply, ordered it on his own responsibility. He then went to Keynsham and brought back the 14th Dragoons, who, after leaving the city among universal execration, were hailed as saviours on their return. At the same time troops poured in from Gloucester and elsewhere, a few charges were made, and the riot was over.

The damage done was very great: the Mansion House, the Custom House, the Excise Office, the Palace, three prisons, four toll-houses, forty-two large private houses and several warehouses had been destroyed, and a large but uncertain number of lives were lost; these were chiefly rioters, overtaken by the flames while engaged in plunder; it is said that not fewer than fifty perished at the Custom House alone. Four of the rioters were executed, and a large number sentenced to transportation. The mayor and Colonel Brereton were put on their trial for dereliction of duty, the latter by court-martial, the former before the Court of King's Bench. Colonel Brereton anticipated the verdict by committing suicide during the trial. There seems no doubt that,

although his conduct might be justified up to a certain point, yet his want of decision and judgment on the second day of the riots was responsible for most of the damage which ensued. The mayor, who was indefatigable in his efforts to preserve the peace, though powerless to do so, was honourably acquitted, the jury stating that they were unanimously of opinion that, circumstanced as he was, menaced and opposed by an infuriated and reckless mob, unsupported by any sufficient force, civil or military, deserted in those quarters where he might reasonably have expected assistance, the late Mayor of Bristol acted according to the best of his judgment, with zeal and personal courage.

The townsfolk were punished for their apathy by being compelled to pay a special rate of ten shillings in the pound to defray the cost of the damage; but the riots were not in vain, for, although it is open to question whether they helped or hindered the passing of the Reform Bill, there can be no doubt that they led indirectly to the passing of that important measure the Municipal Corporation Reform Act of 1835, which abolished the old corrupt close corporations, not only in Bristol, but throughout the country, since the commission out of whose report the Act rose was explicitly appointed to inquire into the state of the municipal corporations as a result of "the scenes of violence and outrage which have occurred in the city of Bristol and some other places."

BRISTOL AND ITS HISTORIANS

By E. R. Norris Mathews, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.

Bristol, or more truly *Bright Stow*, says quaint old Tom Fuller: "Bright in the situation thereof, conspicuous on the rising of the hill; bright in the buildings fair and firm; bright in the streets so cleanly kept, as if scoured, but chiefly bright for the inhabitants thereof, having bred so many eminent persons." The Rev. Samuel Seyer, in his *History of Bristol*, mentions no less than forty-two variations in the spelling of the name; and after showing attempted derivations from Brennus, the legendary founder of the city, Britric, its Saxon lord, etc., finally decides in favour of Brig-stow, or Bridge town—an etymology accepted by the Rev. Isaac Taylor in his *Words and Places*. The earliest direct historical reference to Bristol is found in the *Gwentian Chronicle* of Caradoc of Llancarvan, whose annals are based upon Latin MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[1] This ancient historian states that Einion, son of Owain, son of Hywell the Good, came to Gowerland under pretence of pursuing the heathen Danes, and totally ravaged that district. Being opposed by Owain, son of Morgan, King of Glamorgan, he was put to flight, and the men of Gower were brought into fealty to the victor as in former times. "And when Edgar, King of the Saxons, heard that, he came with a fleet to Caerleon upon Usk, and caused Owain, son of Hywell the Good, to submit and swear fealty to him, and then returned in peace to *Bristol*." Edgar, who made kings his watermen, proudly

[1] *Brut y Tywsogion*, edited for Cambrian Archæological Association by Ancurin Owen, vii.

declares in one of his charters that he had subdued all the islands of the ocean, with their ferocious kings, even unto Norway, and the greatest part of Ireland, with its most noble city of Dublin. To invade Dublin he would probably have sailed from Bristol. No wars, however, are particularized to have been waged by Edgar, except an invasion of Wales.[1]

If the authority of *Polydore Virgil* (A.D. 1525) be accepted, Edmund Ironside, being proclaimed king by the citizens of London in A.D. 1016, advanced against the Danes settled in the west, and, assaulting Gloucester and Bristol, then held by that people, forced those who were left in garrison to come forth to hand-strokes, slew many, and brought the rest to submission and to plight pledges of their faith. The evidence derived from the ancient romance of *Merlin* will not perhaps be received as unimpeachable history; but the story told in so early a poem (A.D. 1230) of the Danes landing at Bristol shows some tradition of fact, or at least indicates the importance of the place at the time when the elements of the romance were being crystallized into their ultimate forms, if not when they were held in solution.

The incident as therein related is to the effect that in Denmark were two stalwart *Sarazens* (Saxons) of King Hengist's kindred, one being the son of Hengist's brother, and the other of his sister. These heroes were respectively named Sir Gamor and Sir Malador. They were great lords in their own land, one holding two duchies and the other three. When they heard how Hengist was slain in England, they gathered a numerous host to avenge his destruction. A great battle was then fought, in which more than 3000 Christian men were slain, and of the Saxons only five escaped alive.

"Vnto Shipp they gone anon
& the seas to flow began,
The winde soe well began to blow
that they landed att Bristowe.

[1] Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, i. 398. Caradoc.

Then Merlyn knew itt well anon
& told it Uther & Pendragon
how there was comen from Denmarke
a stronge oste stoute & starke
with many Sarazens of price
For to auenge King Anguis (Hengist)
In England sayd Merlyn then
Such an oste was neuer seene."[1]

If England claims Leland as the father of English antiquaries, the ancient city of Bristol may certainly claim William Wyrcestre as the father of English topography. For it is from his *Itinerary* we are able to form a better impression of Bristol as it appeared during the fifteenth century than of any mediæval town in England. He spent much of his time in surveying its streets, its lanes and alleys, noting their length and breadth, and measuring all by paces. He took exact measurement of each church and every building of importance, recording his observations with much interesting information about the city and its wealth, the merchants, their shipping and local customs, which he had recorded in a curious but not unintelligible mixture of Latin and English.

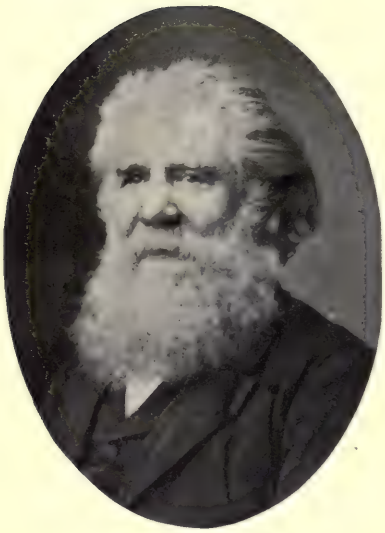
The original MS. of the *Itinerary* is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Wyrcestre's biography can only be gleaned from his *Itinerary* and from his correspondence in the *Paston Letters*. He was the son of a Bristol burgess of the same name as his own, while his mother was Elizabeth Botoner, of an opulent Coventry family. The latter name he adopted as a surname in addition to his own, frequently signing himself "Botoner" as well as by his patronymic. This double cognomen has probably caused Bale to confuse his personality, when assigning certain works to Botoner and others to Wyrcestre; while Lewis in his *Life of Caxton* doubtfully conjectures that the former name was assumed by him on account of his love of botany. "In the second year of Henry IV," the *Itinerary* informs us,

[1] *Merlin*. Bp. Percy's Folio MSS. Early Eng. Text Soc. vol. i. 493.

"William Wyrcester my father took on rental the house of John Sutton upon the Bec, in the parish of St. James (Bristol) in which house I was born (A.D. 1415)." About the month of June 1432, he went to Oxford when the general eclipse on the day of St. Botolph happened. He remained four years a student at Hart Hall, now Hertford College, and was instructed in poetry and French by a Lombard named Karoll Giles; and we are assured by his friend Henry Myndsor that he would "as fain have a book of French or Poetry as Master Fastolf would a fair manor." To the Master Fastolf here referred to, "Wyrcestre upon leaving the university, became secretary and pursuivant, attending him with his coat when he went upon any encounter." With the latter, who is generally admitted to be the Sir John Fastolfe of Shakespeare's *Henry VI,* and not, as some have supposed, the Falstaff of *Henry IV* and the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, he remained four years, and was eventually appointed one of the executors of Fastolf's testament, with Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, and others.

To Waynflete, Wyrcestre presented, in August 1473, a copy of an English version which he had made of Cicero, *De Senectute;* but he complains that he received nothing in return, which Chandler, the prelate's biographer, suggested was about the worth of the translation. It was, however, published by the father of English printers. Copies of the "*Book of Tulle of Old Age* etc. emprynted by me symple person William Caxton into Englysshe at the playsir solace and reverence of men growing into olde age the XII day of Aug. the yere of our Lord MCCCCLXXXI," were exhibited at the Caxton celebration, but Caxton does not mention the author of the version.

William Wyrcestre subsequently returned to his native place, and resided on his own property close to the battlements of the castle, devoting his time to the



J. F. Nicholls, F.S.A.,
1818–1883.

John Latimer,
1824–1904.

John Taylor,
1829–1893.

cultivation of medicinal herbs and the practice of physic, and, it would appear, lending his books to some of the civic worthies, for he mentions: "I rode to Westbury College and spoke to John Gryffiths, a merchant of Bristol, dwelling there; likewise I rode as far as Shirehampton and spoke to Thomas Young about recovering two books of mine, one a great book of ethics, and another called the *Myrrour of Dames* covered with red leather, and I breakfasted with him." [1]

His contemporary natives of Bristol at that time were William Grocyn and John Phreas, or Free, Vicar of Redcliffe, and originally a Carmelite friar in Bristol. They have the merit of having first introduced the study of the Greek language into England. Free having received information from the Italian merchants trading to Bristol that multitudes of strangers were crowding to their universities to acquire the learned languages, passed over to Ferrara, where he became a fellow-student with Walter Grey (afterwards Bishop of Ely), by whose patronage and assistance his studies were supported. He induced Grocyn, then fellow of New College, to pursue the same studies under Demetrius Chalcondylas and other learned Greeks.[2]

Here, too, was living Wyrcestre's friend and contemporary, Robert Ricart, Town Clerk of Bristol in 1479, whose fame is recognized as the originator of *Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, which records the ancient customs and usages of the city. It has been stated by several authors that Ricart was a brother of the Gild of Kalendars, one of the oldest Gilds in England, and filled some official capacity towards the Church of All Saints, and to have kept the Parish Book there, before he was appointed Town Clerk.[3]

Much has been written of the flourishing condition of

[1] Dallaway's *Antiquities of Bristol.*
[2] *Retrospective Review*, vol. ii, second series.
[3] *Vide* Camden Society publications, vol. v, N.S.

Bristol in the fifteenth century. We have evidence of this in the noble monuments of piety and prosperity erected: the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, the tower of St. Stephen, the Temple Church; with splendid examples of domestic architecture in Norton's house in Peter Street and Canynge's house in Redcliff Street—all of which yet exist, in testimony of the opulence and taste of the leading citizens of that period. William Canynge the younger was perhaps the greatest merchant in England. Between 1450 and 1460 he employed on an average 800 seamen in the navigation of his ten vessels, which had an aggregate burden of 2,853 tons. By a treaty concluded between Henry VI and the King of Denmark he alone was suffered to trade to Iceland and Finmark. In 1449 Henry VI sent letters to the Master-General of Prussia and the magistrates of Dantzig, inviting their favour towards certain English factors, and especially towards William Canynge, "his beloved and eminent merchant of Bristol." As mayor of the town and a stout adherent to the Lancastrian cause, he entertained Margaret of Anjou and a large retinue when she visited Bristol in 1456 to quicken the interest of the western counties in the declining fortunes of her husband. This attachment to the fallen dynasty was not likely to go unnoticed by Edward IV on his visit to Bristol in 1461, who exacted from Canynge a fine (or loan from him, as the richest merchant) of 3000 marks, equal to about £20,000 of present money. About 1466 Joan, his wife, died; his only sons, William and John, probably died before her, the elder only leaving any issue. Under this affliction, his whole mind was bent upon some great work of munificence and piety, and he resolved to apply his wealth to the completion of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe upon a scale of cathedral magnitude and the most perfect architecture of that age. The sums expended must have been such as to even exhaust his large property. William Wyrcestre has said

that he employed and paid one hundred artificers every day upon this work (*habuit operarios et carpentarios, masones, etc., omni die, c. homines*). Probably before this great undertaking was brought to a close he had resolved to become an ecclesiastic; and for ten years previous to his death, November 7, 1474, he was dean of the college of Westbury-on-Trym near Bristol, where he died. Canynge had prepared for himself in his lifetime two tombs, both of which are now to be seen under a canopied recess in the south transept of Redcliffe Church. The first consists of an altar tomb, upon which are extended the recumbent effigies of himself in his civic robes as mayor, and his wife in the costume of a lady of her day. Adjoining is the second tomb, representing the same Canynge in his priest's robes.

In studying the bibliography of Bristol, we find the first complete history appeared in 1789, as follows: "The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol, compiled from original Records, and Authentic Manuscripts in Public Offices or Private Hands; illustrated with copper plate prints by William Barrett, Surgeon, F.S.A. Printed by William Pine, Bristol." A portrait of Barrett (ætatis 31), engraved by Walker from a painting by Rymsdick, is sometimes found added as a frontispiece. Many of the plates are folding, as it was originally intended that the history should be issued in folio. This work occupied its author nearly thirty years, but, owing to the reliance which Barrett placed in the authenticity of the Rowley MSS., while accepting and embodying Chatterton's own *fiction*, its value as an authority has been greatly depreciated. It has even been said that some of Chatterton's "forgeries" were executed for the express purpose of duping Barrett. A facsimile of one of these is shown after p. 636 of the history, and the folding plate of "Bristol Castle as in 1138," facing p. 196, is produced from a drawing by Chatterton. Within a few months of the appearance of the work Barrett died, it

has been said, "overwhelmed by disappointment at the ridicule that had been heaped upon it." Yet, whatever blame or adverse praise has been bestowed upon the history, its association with the "marvellous boy" Chatterton will perpetuate the memory of the author and the curious interest of his work. There is in the Bristol Room of the Central Library, Bristol, an interleaved copy of Barrett with annotations by the late John Latimer, which to a considerable extent enhances the value and character of the work as an authority.

The most important history of Bristol that has yet been produced was published some thirty years later. The title-page of which runs: "Memoirs Historical and Topographical of Bristol and its Neighbourhood from the earliest period down to the present time, by the Rev. Samuel Seyer, M.A. (formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxford). Printed at Bristol for the author by John Matthew Gutch and sold by Norton, Frost, Barry, and other booksellers in Bristol, and by Rodwell and Martin, and Nichols and Son, London." The work was published in two quarto volumes, and was issued at the price of £6 6*s*.; a few large paper copies, with proof plates on India paper, were issued at £12 12*s*. In the advertisement at the end of vol. ii. the author points out that his work, as there completed, was not quite in accordance with the description on the title-page, as it consisted only of historical memoirs. He offers, however, to proceed with the *Topographical* Memoirs if he receives the same support from his subscribers as they had previously accorded him. This portion of the work, however, exists only in manuscript, as owing, it is supposed, to the pecuniary risks involved it was never published. This manuscript, with many others, is amongst the local collection in the Bristol Reference Library. Mr. Seyer for many years conducted a large school in the Royal Fort, St. Michael's Hill, and subsequently devoted himself to literature and the study of the classics.

With the name of George Pryce may be mentioned the first popular history of Bristol, which the author dedicated "to the citizens of Bristol of all classes," and published in 1861, under the title: "A Popular History of Bristol; Antiquarian, Topographical and Descriptive, from the earliest period to the present time, with Biographical notices of eminent natives and residents, impartially written by George Pryce, F.S.A." In his preface the author mentions having "undertaken the pleasing task and come to the labour without prejudice, thrown aside the idle gossip of my predecessors, cast off the myths of the Middle Ages for stern realities; and the fictions of *monkery* for facts resulting from investigation; feeling convinced that whatever is written of Bristol *now* must be the record of *truth* or it were better not written at all." Mr. Pryce held the office of City Librarian in the Old King Street Library between 1856 and 1868, and did admirable pioneering work during this period in forming the nucleus of the present collection of books relating to Bristol, and it is probably rather more to his work in that capacity than for his authorship that his name will be remembered in years to come.

Bristol, Past and Present, by James Faulkner Nicholls and John Taylor, brings the local chronicles to comparatively recent times. This work, published by J. W. Arrowsmith in three volumes, appeared in 1881; the first and third treat of the civil and modern history, for which Nicholls was responsible, while Mr. Taylor (who succeeded Mr. Nicholls as City Librarian) has dealt in an able manner with the ecclesiastical history of the city.

Brief acknowledgment can only be made here of the volume in the *Historic Town Series* which the Rev. William Hunt has so ably devoted to Bristol; to Dr. Harvey's historical and topographical account of the city, and to the popular writings of both Mr. Charles

Wells and Mr. Stanley Hutton in the cause of local history. But to no writer will students be more indebted in the future than the late Mr. John Latimer, for his admirable work, *The Annals of Bristol during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, a work that, for its accuracy and conciseness, places it in the very foremost position. Mr. Latimer, by birth a Newcastle man, lived forty years of his life in Bristol, twenty-five of which were spent in the editorial chair of one of the local newspapers. With perfect truth and justice it may be said of him that "none have yet attempted so well to draw back the ever-thickening curtain of the past that hides the events of Bristol history."

THOMAS CHATTERTON

By L. Acland Taylor, F.L.A.

"With Shakespeare's manhood at a boy's wild heart
Through Hamlet's doubt to Shakespeare near allied
And kin to Milton through his Satan's pride,—
At Death's sole door he stooped, and craved a dart;
And to the dear new bower of England's art,—
Even to that shrine Time else had deified,
The unuttered heart that soared against his side,—
Drove the fell point, and smote life's seals apart.

Thy nested home-loves, noble Chatterton;
The angel-trodden stair thy soul could trace
Up Redcliffe's spire; and in the world's armed space
Thy gallant sword-play:—these to many an one
Are sweet for ever; as thy grave unknown
And love dream of thine unrecorded face."

D. G. Rossetti.

Under the shadow of St. Mary Redcliffe, "The pride of Brystowe and the Westerne lande"[1]—"the fairest, the goodliest and most famous parish church in England," as good Queen Bess was moved to term it—Chatterton was born. His entry into the world, November 20, 1752, was heralded with no bright or particular omen of good fortune. His mother had been three months a widow, and was but twenty-one years of age when her son was born. There is little evidence of such extraordinary capacity in the persons of his forbears as to justify the expectation of anything remarkable in the intellect of the boy. For upwards of one hundred and twenty years the heads of the family had attained to no post of higher distinction than that of sexton to the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, his father alone excepted, who held the office of school-master to the Free School in Pile Street, quite close to the above-mentioned church.

[1] Chatterton. *A Discourse on Bristowe*, by Thomas Rowlie.

It is on record that one Thomas Malpas, who had made a fortune as a pin-maker, added a dwelling to the school building in 1749. In token of gratitude for that and probably other favours, the school-master's first-born son, Giles Malpas, who died in infancy, was named after its benefactor.

A most interesting Chatterton relic, which was brought to light by the late Mr. John Taylor, City Librarian of Bristol, is preserved in the Municipal Art Gallery of that city.

In a letter to the *Athenæum*, December 10, 1881, Mr. Taylor thus described it: "A Bristol dealer in curiosities has now on sale an imperfect quarto history of the Bible [1] printed in the last century, but undated, containing the original family entries of the birth and baptism of Chatterton, and the like of his brother and sister. The book has escaped the collectors and was lately bought by its present owner from a poor person in Bristol. The title-page of the Old Testament part is missing, and the work, which is much thumbed, partly no doubt by the young poet himself, begins with Book II. The *New Testament History* retains the title. The inscriptions, which are unquestionably genuine and contain particulars not to be found in the biographies, are on the back of this title."

In this volume is recorded the marriage of the poet's father and mother, as follows: "Thomas Chatterton and Sarah Young was married at Sodbury Church in Gloucestershire by Mr. Jno Coats on Monday the 25th day of April in the year 1748." [2]

This is evidently the identical volume referred to in Dean Milles's Preliminary Dissertation prefixed to his edition of the *Rowley Poems*, 4to, 1782, where he quotes Mrs. Chatterton's description of her son stripping this book of its parchment cover.

[1] *A Compleat History of the Holy Bible.* Laurence Clarke. London: 1737. Vide *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books.*

[2] Vide *New Facts relating to the Chatterton Family*, by William George. Bristol: 1883. 8vo.

Mrs. Chatterton lived at the school-house until her son was born, when, the premises having to be vacated for her husband's successor,[1] the widow removed to a cottage adjacent, took in needlework, and opened a small school. The family comprised the mother, a daughter, Mary,[2] between two and three years of age, the infant boy and Mrs. Edkins,[3] a life-long friend of the family, who had been with the mother when her child was born, and looked upon him as her foster-son. Here young Thomas passed the first years of his life, denied the influence or companionship of father or brother. How this ultimately affected his future career can only be surmised; it is possible, however, that lack of family interests might well engender the habit of reserve which to the last was characteristic of his temperament.

At five years of age young Chatterton was sent to the Pile Street School, then administered by one Stephen Love. After a brief period he was remanded to his mother as an "incorrigible dunce"! This conclusion of his master was due no doubt to Love's own want of tact and lack of sympathy in his dealings with the boy. It is clearly evident that from his infancy Chatterton was never understood. His mother considered him "in general as stupid, as when quite a child he would sit alone crying for hours, nobody knew what for."[4] No one about him, seemingly, was sufficiently sympathetic to fan the smouldering fire of genius that was inherent in him, and scolding took the place of persuasion, with lasting influence upon his character. There were not wanting indications of his ability even from his earliest years, had they been intelligently interpreted. His sister has recorded that "he very early discovered a thirst for pre-eminence," and that before the age of five he would always preside over his playmates as their master, and they his hired servants. Here is clearly an early indication of that indomitable pride which later

[1] Mr. Edmund Chard. [2] Afterwards Mrs. Newton.
[3] *Née* James, a former pupil of Chatterton senior.
[4] *Dix* App. p. 310.

in life was to overwhelm him.[1] Other indications of latent possibilities might have been discovered in his moods of silent abstraction, which later bore fruit in tangible expression.

The Pile Street school proving a failure, the boy was left to the immediate family influence for the space of some two years prior to his election as a foundation scholar to the Colston School. His mother's time and energies were too fully occupied to permit of her giving much attention to her son, and as a consequence he was left pretty much to his own devices. He learnt his alphabet, with his sister's aid, from an old folio music-book of his father's, to which he was attracted by the illuminated capital letters. Further progress in the art of reading was achieved from the pages of an old black-letter Bible. At eight years of age "he was so eager for books that he read from the moment he waked, which was early, until he went to bed, if they would let him."[2] It is not to be imagined that the lad was idle during the interval of his schooling. When not otherwise engaged he was storing his mind, developing his imaginative faculties and drinking inspiration from his surroundings. His uncle, Richard Phillips, was sexton of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, and the youngster was a great favourite with him. He would naturally be allowed to roam about the church and its precincts at his own sweet will, whilst his relative was attending to his daily round of duties. The questions he would ask may be imagined, and his good-natured uncle[3] would do his best to satisfy the curiosity raised by tombs and effigies, inscriptions and sculptured monuments; later, the marvellous proportions of the building, with its exquisite details of architectural embellishment, would fire his fancy; and so

[1] Writing to Barrett he says: " . . . it is my pride, my damn'd native, unconquerable pride, that plunges me into destruction. You must know that 19-20ths of my composition is pride. I must either live a slave, a servant; have no will of my own, no sentiments of my own that I may freely declare as such; or die!"—Wilson, p. 236.

[2] Wilson, p. 10.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 13.

we read his thoughts, in Rowley phrase, "All deftly mask'd as hoar antiquity." [1]

ON THE DEDICATION OF OUR LADY'S CHURCH [2]

This poem was given by Chatterton in a note to the *Parliament of Sprites*, with the remark: "Carpenter dedicated the church, as appears by the following poem, wrote by Rowley."

Soon as bright sun along the skies
  Had sent his ruddy light
And fairies hid in oxlip cups
  Till wished approach of night,
The matin bell with shrilly sound
  Re-echoed through the air,
A troop of holy friars did
  For Jesus' mass prepare;
Around the high unsainted church
  With holy relics went,
And every door and post about
  With godly things besprent.
Then Carpenter, in scarlet dressed
  And mitred holily
From Master Canynge his great house
  With rosary did hie.
Before him went a throng of friars
  Who did the mass-song sing,
Behind him Master Canynge came
  Tricked like a barbèd king;
And then a row of holy friars
  Who did the mass-song sound;
The procurators and church-reeves
  Next pressed upon the ground.
And when unto the church they came,
  A holy mass was sang,
So loudly was their swotie voice,
  The heaven so high it rang.
Then Carpenter did purify
  The church to God for aye
With holy masses and good psalms
  Which he did therein say.
Then was a sermon preachèd soon
  By Carpenter holy,
And after that another one
  Y-preached was by me.
Then all did go to Canynge's house
  An interlude to play
And drink his wine and ale so good
  And pray for him for aye."

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[1] Coleridge's *Monody on the Death of Chatterton.*
[2] *Poetical Works of Chatterton.* Skeat and Bell. 2 vols. 1871.

The first direct evidence we possess of the manner in which Chatterton's wonderful gifts were maturing is furnished by his sister, Mrs. Newton, who, in a letter to Herbert Croft,[1] records particulars which throw much light upon the boy's subsequent career. It had been the practice of her father to use old deeds and parchments, abstracted from ancient chests many years unheeded in the dusty muniment-room over the north porch of St. Mary Redcliffe, for the purpose of making covers for his scholars' books. These receptacles, six or seven in number, one especially, iron bound and secured by six locks, known as Canynge's coffer, were opened about the year 1730 by the church authorities, in search of certain church deeds which it was supposed were deposited there. The keys having long been lost, the chests were prised open, and nothing was done subsequently to again secure them. The old-time records they contained were henceforth at the mercy of any who could gain access to the chamber.[2] Chatterton, the schoolmaster, was one so privileged, and used his opportunities to such effect that upon his widow's removal from Pile Street in 1752 there still remained so large a stock in the school-room cupboard that she emptied them "partly into a large deal box where her husband used to keep his clothes, and into a square box of a smaller size." It is probable that, in addition to genuine records and deeds, the bulk of this collection was made up of parish records, accounts, registers and miscellanea of the parish accumulated during the centuries which had elapsed since the foundation of the church.[3] Much of the greatest interest to old-world students must have been irretrievably lost; but the fact remains that but for the chance introduction of young Chatterton to these records, so illuminating to his genius, the world would have been the poorer by the loss of the *Rowley* romance.

[1] Afterwards Sir H. C., author of *Love and Madness*.
[2] Wilson, p. 21. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 21, 130.

We have already related the boy's interest in the illuminated capitals of an old-time manuscript, and his early introduction to black letter and old court hand; hence the childish propensity of imitation, and the light subsequently thrown upon his occupations in a room in his mother's cottage appropriated to his use, where he diligently pursued his bent of mind in learning, transcribing and imitating these old-world characters. "There were deposited his own little stock of books, parchments and all the materials already in use by him in the first efforts of his antique muse. His scheme of a series of poems, to be produced under the guise of an ancient poet monk, was already in embryo." [1]

The time was now come for the mother to consider the future of her boy—he must be trained to take his position in life. Without means or influence, she was unable to make much choice. Bristol was well equipped with educational institutions, including a Grammar School with liberal endowments; Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, conducted after the manner of Christ's Hospital, London; and Colston's Hospital, founded and endowed by Edward Colston "to educate in the prin-

[1] Wilson, p. 21.

Mr. Edward Gardner, an acquaintance of Chatterton's, has recorded some interesting details of the poet which throw some light upon the history of the Rowley Poems: "I particularly recollect the philosophic gravity of his countenance, and the keen lightening of his eye. He seemed wholly absorbed in antiquarian and heraldic researches, and fascinated with the brilliancy of literary fame . . . I saw him once rub a piece of parchment with ochre, and afterwards rub it on the ground, at the same time saying that was the way to antiquate it, or to give it the appearance of antiquity. I heard him once affirm that it was very easy for a person who had studied antiquities, and with the aid of a few books which he could name, to copy the style of our early poets so exactly that the most skilful observer should not be able to detect him—no, says he, not Mr. Walpole himself."—*Gardner's Miscellanies*, 1798, vol. ii. pp. 144, 145.

His friend and school-fellow, James Thistlethwaite, testifies that in 1764 Chatterton had informed him that he was in possession of certain old manuscripts from a chest in Redcliffe Church, and that the one he afterwards inspected he was confident was *Elinoure and Juga*. —Wilson, p. 42.

ciples of the Church of England, and to maintain and clothe one hundred poor boys, and to place them out to apprentice." This last was the institution selected by the mother, and her choice was no doubt influenced by facilities she may have had by reason of her late husband's connection with the cathedral as a sub-chanter. The cordial relations of the dean and chapter with Colston is shown by the fact that when in Bristol he attended daily service at the cathedral, and each Sunday used to stand at the door to see his boys enter the church, afterwards occupying a cathedral choir-stall erected for his especial use. To this day the scholars of Colston's school attend divine service at the cathedral on the anniversary of the day set apart to commemorate his great philanthropy. Some details of this foundation will not be without interest, in view of the fact that Chatterton spent seven years of his brief life under its directing influence.

From the Settlement Deeds we glean the following: The premises known as the "Great House on Saint Augustine's Back" were acquired in 1707,[1] and three years later the school was established by the admission of the boys. The welfare of the inmates is provided for by precise Rules and Orders governing the jurisdiction, behaviour, dress, food and instruction of the scholars. The master must be a member of the Church of England, of sober life and conversation; one that can write a good hand, and understands the "grounds of arithmetick." He will attend the business of the school from seven to eleven in the morning, and from one to five in the afternoon in summer; and from eight to eleven in the morning and one to four in the evening, the winter half-year. "He shall bring them to church twice every Sunday and Holiday." A committee of governors shall visit monthly to inquire into the behaviour of the boys, also as to their treatment by their masters, as to pro-

[1] The Colston Hall now occupies the site.

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visions, etc. The master shall take a daily note of such faults as they are guilty of, and at the visitation acquaint the committee of them, who, in event of "heinous and often repeated" crimes, shall, "by the majority of their voices," displace them, and take from them their "School Cloaths." Rule XXI enacts: "That poor boys rise before six in the morning, and having dressed themselves, to attend prayers in the schoolroom, or some other convenient place in the house; and after reading some portion of scripture, and singing of psalms, their breakfast be given them, and then enter into the school by seven of the clock, and from thence precisely at eleven, in order to go to dinner, and return thither at one of the clock, and continue there till five only; on Thursdays they may stay but till three, and Saturdays in the afternoon, they are to be catechized, and also Sundays after evening prayer; and after reading of a Chapter, singing of a psalm and prayers, they are to be in bed by eight of the clock, and that either the Master or one of his assistants, attend at their meals and times of devotion to prevent disorder."

To this institution Chatterton was admitted on August 3, 1760, eager for the facilities which he fondly hoped would enable him to follow out his scheme of life and develop the talents which instinctively he knew he possessed. He very soon realized the limitations of the curriculum provided, which aimed at no more than a solid foundation of elementary subjects, and craved for opportunity of extending his knowledge. The little pocket-money allowed him by his mother was expended upon circulating libraries, and every opportunity of borrowing books from his friends eagerly seized. Evans records that "Chatterton's favourite bookshop was that of Mr. Goodall, in Tower Lane, nearly opposite to Cyder House Passage. Here our youthful poet passed many hours in the day, buying such books as came within his means, and sitting to read those which

he either did not wish to possess, or could not afford to purchase. He was particularly attached to one book on Saxon manners and customs."[1] Between eleven and twelve years of age he made a catalogue of seventy books he had read. On half-holidays and saints' days he had the opportunity of visiting his home. Here he would shut himself up in his room and ceaselessly record the marvellous creations of his brain. Some light is thrown upon the poetical proclivities of the boy by his friendliness with Thomas Phillips, a junior master of the Colston School, who was himself a lover of poetry, and encouraged it in his pupils. It is probable that to this fact Chatterton was indebted for his first adventure in the public press, following the example of his tutor, who was in the habit of occasionally contributing verse to the columns of Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal*. The lines were "On the last Epiphany; or, Christ's coming to Judgment," and were printed in the *Bristol Journal* of January 8, 1763. They are interesting as showing the working of his mind as influenced by the rite of Confirmation which he had recently undergone. They were printed without signature—anonymity appears to have been the practice of his life, a fact curious in the light of his intense desire for recognition and fame.

So Chatterton passed his days for a period of seven years. On July 1, 1767, he left school, and was on the same day apprenticed to Mr. John Lambert, a Bristol attorney.[2] The atmosphere of a lawyer's office was not at all congenial to the lad. His hours were from eight in the morning until eight at night, with an interval of one hour for dinner. He was lodged and boarded at the house of his master, a bachelor, who resided with his

[1] Evans, *History of Bristol*, 1824, p. 284.

[2] The original Indenture is now preserved in the Bristol Museum of Antiquities. From it we learn that his master engaged to lodge, board and clothe him—his mother undertaking to wash and mend his clothes.

mother in Clifton. From eight p.m. to ten p.m. he was allowed his liberty. His quarters were shared with Lambert's foot-boy. The actual work of the office was light, two hours usually sufficing for the daily routine. The boy took advantage of this leisure, between intervals of copying Precedents, in the exercise of his natural proclivities, and *Rowley* verse increased apace.

His employer, however, had no soul for poetry, and could not tolerate the idea of his apprentice so wasting his time—writing "stuff," as he called it—and would ruthlessly tear into fragments such manuscript as he could discover: thus much of the lad's original composition perished. Chatterton bitterly complained of his playing the dog-in-the-manger, neither providing him with work sufficient to occupy his time, nor permitting him to use it to useful purpose himself. Nothing, however, could suppress the boy, and his work continued in spite of everything.

Chatterton had spent some fifteen months in the attorney's office when the event occurred which marks an era in his life. This was the opening of a new bridge, replacing one of ancient structure, connecting the city with the county of Somerset. In September 1768 this bridge had been thrown open. It is in no way surprising that reference to a like happening some hundreds of years previously would attract attention. With this end in view Chatterton contributed to the columns of the principal paper of the city [1] this information, with an explanatory note thus worded—

"Mr. Printer, The following description of the Mayor's first passing over the Old Bridge, taken from an old manuscript, may not at this time be unacceptable to the generality of your readers.

"Yrs etc

"DUNHELMUS BRISTOLIENSIS."

[1] Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal*.

The account appeared on October 1, 1768, wrapped in ancient phraseology and picturesquely worded. The marshalling of the procession is vividly described. The costume of the Saxon eldermen, emblematic of the early foundation of the city, is minutely detailed; likewise "a mickle strong manne" in armour, carrying a "huge anlace," is introduced. Claryons and minstrels sing the song of St. Werburgh. Master Mayor is mounted on a white horse dight with sable trappings wrought with gold and silver by the nuns of St. Keyna. Aldermen and civic counsellors mounted on richly caparisoned steeds, a procession of robed priests and chanting friars, swell the throng. Then the ceremony: the man with the anlace mounts an erection in the midst of the bridge; minstrels, claryons, monks and friars, mayor and aldermen stand around, and to the sound of claryons shout the song of St. Baldwin. Then the man throws with great might his anlace into the "see." The claryons sound an ancient charge and forlorn, again the song of St. Werburgh is carried up, and the procession moves up High Street to the Cross, from whence a Latin sermon is delivered.

Inquiry was immediately set on foot as to the source of this description, and at this point two noted figures in the Rowley controversy come prominently into notice: William Barrett, a well-known Bristol surgeon, actively engaged in collecting material for a history of Bristol, and George Catcott, an eccentric pewterer, in partnership with one Henry Burgum[1] on Bristol Bridge.

They made it their business to discover the source of this interesting matter, and soon found that *Dunhelmus Bristoliensis* was none other than young Chatterton,

[1] Burgum had already been victimized by the boy, who had provided him with an *Account of the Family of De. Bergham from the Norman Conquest*, which the recipient having paid the handsome sum of a crown for, and subsequently discovering that it had no foundation in fact, wisely said little about.

who, pressed for information, disclosed his possession of manuscripts written in the fifteenth century by the Bristol monk, Rowley, which had come to him from his father after removal from the old chest of William Canynge.

Chatterton's relations with Barrett were from this moment intimate, as may be inferred from the mass of material furnished by him to the author of the *History of Bristol*, published some twenty years later.[1]

Catcott was no less eager to obtain these old-time records, and Chatterton was nothing loath to supply him with copies. But for the pewterer's eagerness in this direction, and the transcripts he made, much of the poet's work must have been lost.

Not only to these, his local patrons, did Chatterton furnish the pseudo antiquities, but his contributions were welcomed by the Editors of the *Town and Country* magazine and other London periodicals; and his confidence was such that he not only approached Dodsley,[2] the London publisher, but got into communication with Walpole himself.

"BRISTOL, *March* 25 [1769], Corn Street.

"SIR,—Being versed a little in antiquities, I have met

[1] The extent of this may be seen in a copy of Barrett, preserved in the local collection of the Bristol Municipal Public Library. The fictitious matter has been underlined in this volume by the late owner, Mr. John Latimer, the Bristol annalist.

[2] "BRISTOL, *December* 21, 1768.

"SIR,—I take this method to acquaint you that I can procure copies of several ancient poems; and an Interlude, perhaps the oldest dramatic work extant; wrote by one Rowley, a priest in Bristol, who lived in the reign of Henry VI and Edward IV. If these pieces will be of service to you, at your command copies shall be sent to you by

"Your most obedient servant,

"D. B.

"Please direct for D. B., to be left with Mr. Thomas Chatterton, Redcliffe Hill, Bristol. For Mr. J. Dodsley, Bookseller, Pall Mall, London."

Chatterton received no reply to this, or to a subsequent letter, offering for the sum of one guinea, as copy fee, the tragedy of *Ælla*. —Wilson, pp. 163, 164.

with several curious manuscripts, among which the following may be of service to you in any future edition of your truly entertaining anecdotes of painting. In correcting the mistakes (if any) in the notes you will greatly oblige your most humble servant,

"THOMAS CHATTERTON."

Enclosed were the MS. "The Ryse of Peyncteynge" and the *Notes*, as follows: "The founder of that noble Gothic pile St. Mary Redcliffe Church in this City; the Mæcenas of his time; one who could happily blend the poet, the painter, the priest and the Christian, perfect in each." And further: "T. Rowley was a secular Priest of St. John's in this City; his merit as a biographer, historiographer, is great, as a poet still greater; some of his pieces would do honour to Pope; and the person under whose patronage they may appear to the world, will lay the Englishman, the antiquary, and the poet under eternal obligation." [1]

This communication Walpole proceeded to welcome most effusively: "I can but think myself singularly obliged by a gentleman with whom I have not the pleasure of being acquainted, when I read over your very curious and kind letter, which I have just this minute received. I give you a thousand thanks for it, and for the very obliging offer you make me, of communicating your MSS. to me. . . . Give me leave to ask you where Rowley's poems are to be found? I should not be sorry to print them; or at least a specimen of them, if they have never been printed. . . . I flatter myself that from the humanity and politeness you have

[1] Walpole denied ever having received "The Ryse of Peyncteynge," and Dr. Wilson gives reasons for supposing this to be the case. Prof. Skeat, however, proves from Walpole's own admission as to his ignorance of the Saxon language, and the value of Chatterton's "learned notes," that he must have received the piece in question, for it is the only piece wherein Rowley uses Saxon words which Chatterton explains (Skeat's *Essay on the Rowley Poems*, xxix.).—Wilson, pp. 175–176; *Gent's. Mag.* vol. lii. p. 247.

already shown me, that you will sometimes give me leave to consult you."

Full of hope that he was at length about to obtain the recognition he so ardently desired, Chatterton sent off others of his productions, including, it is supposed, his "Elinoure and Juga," and anxiously awaited the result of his venture.

We gather from Walpole's own "Letter"[1] the tenor of Chatterton's second communication to him, as but a fragment of the original letter exists. "Chatterton," says Walpole, "stated that he was the son of a poor widow, who supported him with great difficulty; that he was Clerk or Apprentice to an Attorney, but had a taste and turn for more elegant studies, and hinted a wish that I would assist him with my interest in emerging out of so dull a profession, by procuring him some place in which he could pursue his natural bent. He referred to the great treasures of ancient poetry discovered in his native city, of which he enclosed a specimen"; this Walpole describes as "an absolute modern pastoral in dialogue, thinly sprinkled with old words."

After consultation with his friends Gray and Mason, who were quite convinced that the work was modern, Walpole decided to have no more to do with it, and sent a letter to the poet, doubting the genuineness of the matter he had received, and adding some words of chilling advice as to the boy's future—without, however, returning the manuscript. The poor lad was well-nigh crushed when he learned that his hopes were as far as ever from fulfilment. "Though I am but sixteen years of age," he replied, "I have lived long enough to see that poverty attends literature. I am obliged to you, Sir, for your advice, and will go a little beyond it, by destroying all my useless lumber of literature, and never using my pen again but in law."

[1] *Letter to the Editor of the Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton Strawberry Hill.* 1779. 8vo.

A week hence Chatterton wrote for the return of his manuscripts, without result; and not until six weeks later, and after two other applications for their return, did he receive them, and then without note or excuse for their detention.

They never met, but Walpole seems to have lost no opportunity of maligning the lad. Writing to the Rev. William Mason, July 24, 1778, he says: "I am at last forced to enter into the history of the supposed Rowley's poems. I must write on it, nay, what is more, print, not directly, controversially, but in my own defence. Some jackanapes at Bristol (I don't know who) has published Chatterton's Works; and I suppose to provoke me to tell the story, accuses me of treating that marvellous creature with contempt; which having supposed, contrary to truth, he invites his readers to feel indignation at me. It has more than once before been insinuated that his disappointment from me contributed to his horrid fate. You know how gently I treated him. He was a consummate villain, and had gone enormous lengths before he destroyed himself. It would be cruel indeed, if one was to be deemed the assassin of every rogue that miscarries in attempting to cheat one." In the same letter he mentions Chatterton as "an instance that a complete genius and a complete rogue can be formed before a man is of age." Mr. C. E. Russell, in his recent book on Chatterton, records that, after patient searching of every line written upon the subject, he traces the persistent moral calumny of Chatterton to Walpole's influence alone: "Walpole is the sole authority for the idea that Chatterton was dissolute, you will find it advanced without proof, without reason by his every biographer, but there is extant not one particle of evidence to support it, and through all its re-appearances it can be traced back link by link in an unfailing chain until we come to Walpole's Letter of Defence, and there we can put our finger on all the source of the slanders." [1]

[1] *Thomas Chatterton*, by C. E. Russell. Grant Richards. 1909.

Birthplace of Chatterton.

Walpole's callousness has been severely censured. Coleridge's caustic comment: "Oh ye who honour the name of *Man* rejoice that this Walpole is called a *Lord*," well sums up the universal contempt his conduct excited in this affair—the which fifty-five closely printed pages of his own *Vindication* [1] and a period of near a century and a half has entirely failed to remove!

With boyish ardour, Chatterton soon recovered from his despondency, but the treatment he had received was not inducive to the fostering of his spirit of charity—and friend and foe alike were subject to his biting wit.

Much to his detriment has been written upon this subject, by his contemporaries especially, who naturally resented the intrusions of his facile pen. Yet much, we think, may be excused in the light of the questionable treatment he experienced. Moreover, what youth of his ability living as Chatterton did in an age of satire, and as well versed as he in like productions of such masters of the art as Dryden, Pope, Swift and Churchill, would forgo the satisfaction of the exercise of this gift?

Another crisis in the lad's career was now fast approaching. The work of a scrivener, and his relations with his employer, became increasingly distasteful, and this, coupled with his intense longing to make a career for himself in the world of letters, soon had a most depressing effect upon his mind, which needs must find expression. It took shape in the form of a "Last Will and Testament," endorsed with the touching comment: "All this wrote between eleven and two o'clock, Saturday, in the utmost distress of mind. April 14." That his intention to take his life was serious is open to question. The document was left upon his desk presumably for the perusal of his employer, who doubtless had good reason to place the worst interpretation upon the circumstance, knowing the feelings his own treatment had engendered in the lad. He now recalled state-

[1] Vide *A Letter to the Editor of the Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton, Strawberry Hill.* 1779.

ments which had reached him from his own household as to threats the boy had made to take his life. However this may be, Lambert would take no risk of such an unpleasant chance of notoriety, and summarily cancelled his apprentice's indentures.

Chatterton was free! Now he would lose no time in climbing the ladder of fame. London would give him his chance, and his own *Rowley* should be the Patron to place him with the elect! With less than five pounds in his pocket, the joint contributions of some few of his friends, he took coach, and twelve days subsequent to the dating of his *Will* was writing to his mother in the joy of life, full of his experiences: ". . . Got into London about 5 o'clock in the evening—called upon Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Fell, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Dodsley. Great encouragement from them, all approved of my design; shall soon be settled." Sir Herbert Croft, to whose personal inquiries amongst Chatterton's friends and relatives both in London and Bristol the poet's biographers have since been greatly indebted, has recorded all that is certainly known of the boy's movements during his few months' sojourn in the metropolis. We gather from this source [1] and from Chatterton's own correspondence, first collected and printed by Croft, that the lad shared a bedroom in the house, at Shoreditch, of one Walmsley, a plasterer, with a nephew of the tenant, some seven years his senior. The other occupants of the tenement were the plasterer's wife, niece and a relative of Chatterton's, a Mrs. Ballance. They agree in thinking him proud and reserved, yet good-tempered and agreeable. The nephew (Chatterton's bed-fellow during the first six weeks he lodged there) says that, notwithstanding his pride and haughtiness, it was impossible to help liking him—that he lived chiefly upon a bit of bread or a tart, and some water—that he never came to bed till very late, sometimes three or four o'clock, and

[1] *Love and Madness*, new edition, 1786, pp. 213, etc.

got up about five or six. Mrs. Walmsley says he would never suffer the room in which he used to read and write to be swept, because, he said, poets hated brooms. During the nine weeks he was at her house he never stayed out after the family hours, except on one occasion, when, on the testimony of Mrs. Ballance, he lodged with a relation, as the house was shut up when he came home.

On May 6 he again writes to his mother: "I am settled, and in such settlement as I would desire. I get four guineas a month by our magazine; shall engage to write a History of England, and other pieces which will more than double that sum. Occasional essays for the daily papers would more than support me. What a glorious prospect! Mr. Wilkes knew me by my writings since I first corresponded with the Booksellers here. . . . He affirmed that what Mr. Fell had of mine could not be the writings of a youth, and expressed a desire to know the author. . . . I am quite familiar with the Chapter Coffee house, and know all the geniuses there. A character is now unnecessary: an author carries his character in his pen. . . . The poverty of authors is a common observation, but not always a true one. No author can be poor who understands the arts of booksellers. Without this necessary knowledge the greatest genius may starve; and with it, the greatest dunce live in splendour. This knowledge I have pretty well dipped into."

Alas! poor Chatterton!

He was soon busily engaged with contributions to the periodicals of the day. It was the age of *Junius*, and the strife of political controversy was at its height. Chatterton had no difficulty in placing his communications with editors anxious to emulate the popularity of Woodfall's *Public Advertiser*, in which were appearing Junius's scathing criticisms of the Government. The *Middlesex Journal* had already printed two letters from Chatterton

written from Bristol, emulating the style and views of the renowned correspondent in denunciation of the Ministry; and during the month of May five others appeared over his pen-name *Decimus*. Similarly, the *Political Register* for June printed a letter "To the Lord Mayor" (William Beckford), championing him in his opposition to the Government. Chatterton states that he afterwards personally interviewed his lordship, and had so favourable a reception as to receive permission to address a second letter[1] to him on the subject of the "Remonstrance"[2] and its reception.[3]

The *Freeholder's Magazine;* the *Town and Country*, the *Court and City*, the *London*, the *Christian* and the *Gospel* magazines; the *Lady's Magazine;* the *Annual Register* and the *Foreign Journal*, all contained contributions from his pen; and, judging from the letters they received, his family had no reason to suppose that he was otherwise than fairly prospering.

Writing to his mother on May 14, he addressed his letter from "King's Bench": "Don't be surprised at the name of the place. I am not here as a prisoner. Matters go on swimmingly. Mr. Fell having offended certain persons they have set his creditors upon him, and he is safe in King's Bench. I have been bettered by this accident: his successors in the *Freeholder's Magazine*, knowing nothing of the matter, will be glad to engage me on my own terms. Mr. Edmunds has been tried before the House of Lords, sentenced to pay a fine, and thrown into Newgate. His misfortunes will be to me of no little service. Last week, being in the

[1] This letter was written and accepted for the *North Briton*, and Chatterton only waited its appearance to present himself once more before the Lord Mayor, when news arrived of Beckford's sudden death on June 21. Chatterton on hearing this "was perfectly frantic and out of his mind, and said that he was ruined."—Wilson, p. 266.

[2] Towards the end of May Beckford in person presented to the King a remonstrance from the City of London. See Bell's *Life of Chatterton*, and *note* lxxxvii.

[3] See *Letter IV*, Bell and Skeat's edition, vol. i. p. 348.

pit of Drury Lane Theatre, I contracted an immediate acquaintance (which you know is no hard task to me) with a young gentleman in Cheapside; partner in a music shop, the greatest in the city. Hearing I could write, he desired me to write a few songs for him: this I did the same night and conveyed them to him the next morning. These he showed to a doctor in music, and I am invited to treat with this doctor, on the footing of a composer, for Ranelagh and the Gardens. *Bravo, hey boys, up we go!* Besides the advantage of visiting those expensive and polite places gratis, my vanity will be fed by the sight of my name in copper plate, and my sister will receive a bundle of printed songs, the words by her brother. . . . But to return once more to a place I am sickened to write of, Bristol. Though, as an apprentice, none had greater liberties, yet the thoughts of servitude killed me: now, I have that for my labour I always reckoned the first of my pleasures, and have still my liberty. . . . I will get some patterns worth your acceptance, and wish you and my sister would improve yourselves in drawing, as it is here a valuable and never-failing acquisition.—My box shall be attended to; I hope my books are in it—if not, send them; and particularly Catcott's Hutchinsonian jargon on the Deluge, and the MS. Glossary, composed of one small book annexed to a larger."[1] Early in June Chatterton left Shoreditch, and took more convenient quarters in the house of a Mrs. Angel, a saque-maker, of 39, Brook Street, Holborn.[2]

Writing to his friend Thomas Cary at Bristol (June 29, or near), he says: "I yesterday heard several airs of my burletta sung to the harpsichord, horns, flutes, bassoons, hautboys, violins, etc., and will venture to pronounce, from the excellence of the music, that it will take with the town." This doubtless was "The

[1] This alludes to the glossary used in the composition of the *Rowley Poems.*

[2] Wilson, p. 283.

Revenge," acted at Marylebone Gardens shortly after his death, and the sequence of his introduction to the "doctor in music." He received five guineas for this on July 6, and two days later he is sending a box of presents to his family and friends, with a letter, which refers to these, to his mother. His last letter to his sister is dated July 20: "I am about an oratorio which when finished will purchase you a gown. You may be certain of seeing me before the 1st January, 1771. . . . Almost all the next *Town and Country* magazine is mine. I have a universal acquaintance: my company is courted everywhere; and could I humble myself to go into a compter, could have had twenty places before now: but I must be among the great; state matters suit me better than commercial. I have a deal of business now, and must therefore bid you adieu. You will have a longer letter from me soon—and more to the purpose. Yours, T. C."

This was the last epistle he penned to any member of his family. His worldly prospects had either seemed brighter in anticipation than results justified, or, anxious to spare his family the least anxiety on his behalf, he maintained his cheerfulness for their sake.

The five guineas he had received for the burletta was in part expended on gifts. The balance, in spite of abstemious living, could not last long!

There being now no demand for political writings, *Rowley* is again requisitioned, and "*An Excelent Balade of Charitie* (*as written by the good priest Thomas Rowley,* 1646)" is composed. The versatility of his gifts was truly remarkable! "It is singular to find," writes Dr. Symonds, "such intense individuality of taste as that which prompted him in the middle of the eighteenth century to revive the spirit of the fourteenth, combined with so much susceptibility to the literary fashions of the day. The same poetical genius which impelled him to create Rowley in an age when Walpole was plastering

Strawberry Hill with pseudo-Gothic, and by a bound overleap centuries and anticipate the slow discoveries of antiquarian research, enabled him to imitate the style of authors who had caught the public ear. He was essentially a dweller in two worlds—in the worlds of pure imagination and commonplace satire, and the worlds of fancy and of fact, of sincerity and of imposition, of reality and of fiction, of the antique and the present."

The *Balade* is sent to the *Town and Country* magazine. Unfortunately for the poet, his contributions, although accepted, were not paid for until they appeared in print. From his pocket-book,[1] discovered after his death, it may be seen that no less a sum than £10 17*s*. 6*d*. was due to him; and other entries with reference to his contributions to various periodicals, with no amount against them, seem to show that a still larger sum had been earned but never received. Amongst these we must presumably place the last production of *Rowley*, which the author did not live to see in print.

The case of the lad was now becoming desperate. July was past, and August, the dead season of the literary world, saw him becoming increasingly anxious. His small stock of funds had come to an end, and beggary or starvation stared him in the face. As a last resource he writes to George Catcott, soliciting his interest with Barrett the surgeon: "I am going abroad as a surgeon. Mr. Barrett has it in his power to assist me very greatly, by his giving me a physical character."[2] This fails—the end had now come! On the evening of August 24, Mrs. Angel, his landlady, notic-

[1] Chatterton's pocket-book may be seen in the Municipal Art Gallery, Bristol. For a description of this and other cherished relics of the poet, see *A Catalogue of the Autograph Manuscripts and other Remains of Thomas Chatterton* now in the Bristol Museum of Antiquities—with notes and illustrations—edited by W. R. Barker, and sold at the Art Gallery.

[2] His wide range of reading and study included the literature of medicine, to which he had access through his associations with Barrett.

ing his starved condition and haggard appearance, begged him to share a meal with her. His pride, stronger than the love of life itself, refused. Later he retired to his room and shut himself in. The following morning he was discovered dead, with every evidence of having poisoned himself.

The preponderance of interest in connection with the life of Chatterton is his association with the mythical *Rowley*.

The famous controversy as to the authorship of the poems extended over a hundred years. The first collected edition appeared early in 1777, edited by Mr. Tyrwhitt, whose name, however, did not appear upon the title-page. This was almost immediately followed by *An Appendix* by the same editor: "*Upon the language of the Poems attributed to Rowley, tending to prove that they were written not by an ancient author, but entirely by Thomas Chatterton.*"

The issue thus raised was quickly challenged, and the dispute became acute. The *St. James's Chronicle* was soon enabled to print a list of the combatants on either side, numbering no less than thirty names, each one of them prominent in the world of letters. Two of these were especially zealous in championing the cause of Rowley. Jacob Bryant, M.A., Fellow of his College, and authority on ancient mythology, printed 598 pages [1] of *Observations*, "in which," he satisfied himself, that "the authenticity of those Poems is ascertained," and Jeremiah Miller, D.D., Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, issued a sumptuous quarto edition of the poems,[2] "with a Commentary in which the antiquity is considered and defended"—a piece of

[1] *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley.* Jacob Bryant, Esq. 1781. 8vo.

[2] *Poems . . . by Thomas Rowley, with Commentary.* Milles. 1782. 4to.

work which Coleridge stigmatized as a foul calumny, and likened its author "to an owl mangling a poor dead nightingale." [1]

With the publication of the Rev. Walter W. Skeat's *Essay* prefixed to the *Rowley Poems*, published in 1875, the question may be said to have been finally set at rest.

Rossetti affirms that "Chatterton was as great as any English poet whatever, and might absolutely, had he lived, have proved the only man in England's theatre of imagination who could have bandied parts with Shakespeare. . . . Not to know Chatterton is to be ignorant of the *true* day-spring of modern romantic poetry. . . . The finest of the Rowley poems—*Eclogues, Ballad of Charity*, etc.—rank absolutely with the finest poetry in the language." [2]

Theodore Watts-Dunton claims Chatterton as the father of the New Romantic School of Poets. He testifies to the undeniable influence Chatterton has had, both as to spirit and as to form, upon the revival in the nineteenth century of the romantic temper; working primarily through Coleridge—who was profoundly impressed both by the tragic pathos of Chatterton's life and by the excellence, actual as well as potential, of his work—to Shelley and Keats, and the enormous influence of these latter upon subsequent poets.[3]

If testimony were needed of the opinion of the last-named poet—John Keats—we may discover it on the original autograph MS. draft of a title-page to *Endymion*, with preface and dedication "*To the Memory of the most English of Poets except Shakespeare, Thomas Chatterton*"—(*vide* Sotheby's Sale Catalogue of the Library of S. M. Samuel, M.P., July 1, 1907).

[1] Cottle, *Early Recollections*, vol. i. p. 36.
[2] Hall Caine's *Recollections of Rossetti*, 1882, p. 184, etc.
[3] Ward's *English Poets*, vol. iii.

CHIPPING CAMPDEN AND ITS CRAFTSMANSHIP

By C. R. Ashbee, F.R.I.B.A.

In the little town of Chipping Campden in the Cotswolds, fortunately sheltered from industrialism, we have one of the few perfect English survivals of the Middle Ages. But we have more than this: we have an example of a consistent artistic tradition from very early times, ninth or tenth century, till the end of the eighteenth century. We may even go further and say that, owing to the fact of the industrial revolution never having directly damaged the little town, many of the crafts—such as the mason's, the builder's, the thatcher's—have gone on from the time of Saxon Harold to our own day. Harold was lord of the manor before the Conquest, and the early arch here shown in one of the accompanying illustrations very probably dates back to him. An old mason, who works for me on one of these Campden buildings, has had mason ancestors for several generations before him. He works instinctively in the Gothic tradition, handles his stone, not as a modern peripatetic, wage-paid mason does, but as the traditional mason might who was attached to a mediæval village community. His son is a mason too, and his days are spent in quarrying and shaping stone upon Campden Hill. This fact is important, and worthy of record here, as it points to the link between the life and the craft which has made a place like Campden possible, and which still gives it a *raison d'être* in the middle of an industrial civilization.

If we walk down the old Campden High Street

Late Seventeenth-century House, Chipping Campden.

Saxon Arch, Chipping Campden.

we are struck by four principal facts: its wonderful curve; the placing of its church, village hall and market-place; the frontage lines of its beautiful houses; and the variety of its buildings. The first of these characteristics is probably accidental, or let us rather say it began with an accident, for there is, I think, no doubt but that it was developed consciously by its successive builders. They indeed from generation to generation were men of traditional taste, they did the right thing because they could not help doing it, and having perhaps found out how beautiful a thing a curve was in architecture they developed it. It has been left for later generations, even into quite recent times, to add to the beauty of the High Street by the planting of many very lovely trees, chestnut, mountain ash, lime, maple, jingo trees, and others, so that from whatever point one sees the street, some delightful feature offers itself.

There is no doubt, however, that the placing of the main buildings has nothing of accident about it at all: the church has been put exactly where the fourteenth-century builders intended to put it, on a knoll in the cup, and so that from every point of view its tower shall dominate the landscape; while Sir Baptist Hicks, most splendid of builders, when he put up the lovely little open market house for the modest sum of ninety pounds in the reign of James I, knew exactly where that would tell most fittingly. This fine old ashlar building was falling a few years ago, but I restored it, strapped it together with iron ties, rebuilt and underpinned the end pier on the near side, and carried off the water from the back. It will be seen that there is still a lean forward towards the street into which the building was in danger of collapsing.

The town hall is also a mediæval building earlier in date than the church, and reconstructed in the eighteenth century; it looks its best perhaps on a market day, and when the farmers have their teg show; their cattle

market indeed emphasizes the setting of the village hall.

When we consider what I referred to above as the frontage lines of Campden High Street, we notice how the famous architectonic rule of Sir Christopher Wren has been instinctively observed, viz. that for the dignity of any street the houses, if laid flat forward on their faces, must not meet in the middle of the street; if they meet, the street becomes undignified or grows out of a street into an alley, like the streets in New York and Chicago. The illustration shows this, and not only this, but also the last of the fine features of Campden above alluded to, the variety of its building. The street had an additional interest, when the little place experienced a moment of interested excitement—for the king's motor-car was driving through, and the inhabitants were expressing, what they love very much, their feudal spirit and sentiments.

If we study the history of Campden as expressed in its buildings, we find that it divides itself into two main periods, the period of Richard II and the period of James I. There are buildings before, after and in between these, but these two are the most important because the most typical, also they are connected with Campden's greatest names and most flourishing industries—the industries of wool and silk, and the Cotswold games.

As far as we are able to determine from the documentary evidence to hand, it seems probable that the original Campden referred to in Domesday and the Saxon Charters was Broad Campden, not Chipping Campden, and that the old building already referred to, a grand specimen of early architectural design, of which an illustration shows my recent restoration and the treatment of one of the early Norman doorways, was the mother church of Campden. The Black Death, that fearful scourge of the middle of the fourteenth century,

MARKET HOUSE, CHIPPING CAMPDEN.

THE MOTHER CHURCH OF CAMPDEN.

which wiped out over one-half of the population of England, destroyed the whole life of the place. After this Broad Campden seems to have lain derelict until the time of the great Flemish wool merchants in the reign of Richard II, when we have a wonderful revival of building in Campden itself, and the great new church is built, my own house, the Hall of the Woolstaplers and Grevel's House, while the old mother church is turned into a domestic building, the Norman nave being cut horizontally across by a fourteenth-century floor.

The house of William Grevel is externally a very lovely thing. The traces of its Flemish origin are clearly marked, but here as elsewhere when foreign influence comes in the English workman learns his lesson and develops his Cotswold stone in its own way.

As for the church of Chipping Campden, its tower dominates it, and it presents a very fine unity from without, not so perfect perhaps as its sister church of North Leach, the other Cotswold wool town, and with less delightful detail, but still very lovely notwithstanding the terrible vandalism perpetrated within the last sixty years in the interior, when the nave was re-roofed, the beautiful Gothic seatings thrown out, the walls scraped and pointed, and many painful things done. There are other houses of the Richard II period in Campden and many pieces of delightful detail, but the next great period that finds strong æsthetic expression is that of James I.

Sir Baptist Hicks, with whose name this time is most intimately bound up, was a London silk mercer who made his fortune by dressing the new Court of James I in silks when they came needily from Scotland in homespuns. He had the heart and soul of a builder, and seems to have for a long time inspired others who followed him. To him we owe, in addition to the fine market house above referred to, his own beautiful

house, destroyed in the civil wars, the banqueting houses, to this day a fine feature in the approach to Campden, the conduit on the hill, and the charming almshouses, an ashlar group of very graceful plan, construction and detail, and in which the Noel family still maintain a number of old pensioners.

A detailed examination of the houses of Campden, into which space will not permit us here to enter, would show how a number of other houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have carried on the Jacobean tradition; building indeed continued quietly during the civil wars, and there are some very beautiful pieces of Queen Anne and Georgian work, all of stone from the hills and touched with the manner and tradition of the Cotswold mason. The industrial revolution indeed, which has reduced the average building, not the building of the rich man or the church, but the ordinary building of English streets, to the level of the selection catalogue of the builders' clerk, hardly appears in Campden at all; those houses which had fallen to decay, and which six years ago, when the Guild of Handicraft came to Campden, had to be built anew, have, I hope, been put together with some of that understanding of the past and desire for a finer future which is implied in the English Arts and Crafts movement.

North Porch, Chipping Campden Church.

THE HOUSE OF WILLIAM GREVEL, CHIPPING CAMPDEN.

THE ROLL OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE WORTHIES

By John Sawyer

The roll of Gloucestershire worthies may fittingly begin with distinguished sons of the Church. Two natives of the county have sat upon a primate's seat. The South Cotswold town of Marshfield was the birthplace, in 1673, of Josiah Hort, who for twenty-two years was an Irish bishop, and when nearing his seventieth year was elevated to the Archbishopric of Tuam, one of the four archbishoprics into which the Irish Established Church was then divided. In addition, he had licence to retain the see of Ardagh *in commendam*, an arrangement which led to the two sees being ever afterwards holden together. Of his published works the most noteworthy is his primary charge to his clergy, which has been several times reprinted by his college at Cambridge. Of greater fame than Hort was John Moore, son of a Gloucester butcher. Winning an exhibition at Pembroke College, Oxford, he afterwards became domestic chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough and tutor to his son, the Marquis of Blandford, through whose influence he subsequently became Dean of Canterbury. In 1775 he was elevated to the Bishopric of Bangor, and eight years later he was consecrated Primate of England.

One of the early bishops of Gloucester—for the diocese was not formed until the reign of Henry VIII—was John Hooper, the Protestant martyr. He was at Oxford with Erasmus and Tyndale, and subsequently entered the Black Friars monastery at Gloucester, where he stayed until its dissolution. In 1449 John Wakeman, the de-

posed Abbot of Tewkesbury, and first Bishop of Gloucester, died, and Hooper was appointed to the vacancy and consecrated in March 1551. Two years later, on the accession of Mary, he was cast into the Fleet Prison; and in February 1555 he was taken to Gloucester and burnt at a stake in the shadow of his own cathedral, on a spot now marked by a fine monument bearing his statue.

Of Robert Frampton, another bishop of Gloucester, we get a glimpse in Pepys's *Diary*. In January 1667 the famous diarist heard Frampton preach, in Westminster Parish Church, "the best sermon for goodness and oratory, without affectation or study," that ever he heard. In 1671 Frampton accepted a prebendal stall in Gloucester Cathedral; two years afterwards he was promoted to the deanery, and in 1680 he was appointed to the bishopric. He would have been tried with the seven bishops, had he not arrived in London too late to be one of the deputation to James II; nevertheless, he had no sympathy with the Revolution, became a leading non-juror, and was sequestered from his bishopric. A marble slab over his grave at Standish, a village near Gloucester, is inscribed: "Robertus Frampton, Episcopus Glocestriensis. Cætera quis nescit?"

William Tyndale, the Bible translator, was a native of North Nibley, a little village on the Cotswold escarpment a few miles south of Stroud. Persecuted for his anti-Romanist views, he went to Wittenberg, the home of Luther, where he prepared his translation of the New Testament, which he got printed in Antwerp. To carry out his desire that a ploughboy should be able to read the Scriptures, Tyndale spelt many words as they are commonly pronounced in the Cotswold dialect of to-day. A tall column on a knoll above his native village, a landmark for many miles round, is a memorial of his work and of his death at the stake in the town of Vilvorde, near Brussels.

Joseph Butler, author of the famous *Analogy*, was Bishop of Bristol before he became Bishop of Durham. George Whitefield, the celebrated evangelical preacher, was the son of a Gloucester hotel-keeper, and preached his first sermon in Gloucester. Francis Close, before becoming Dean of Carlisle, was a Cheltenham incumbent, and his contemporaries there included F. W. Robertson (best known as "Robertson of Brighton") and Archibald Boyd. Well-known Nonconformists of the county include James Forbes, "weekly preacher" at Gloucester Cathedral during the Commonwealth; John Roberts, a native of Siddington, a village near Cirencester, who was one of the earliest Gloucestershire followers of George Fox, the Quaker, and was several times fined and imprisoned because of his religious convictions; and Walter Medhurst, a native of Gloucester, whose name shines brightly on the roll of modern missionaries.

Closely akin to the work of divines may be placed the work of Robert Raikes, of Gloucester. The claim that he was the founder of Sunday Schools is not strictly accurate. There were Sunday Schools, even in Gloucestershire, before his day; and in the work he did Thomas Stock, a Gloucester clergyman, and others were worthy helpers. It is the Sunday School system that owes its origin to Raikes. The first school he founded was in Gloucester in 1780, and it was quickly followed by others in the city and neighbourhood. Four years later Raikes printed an account of the movement in the *Gloucester Journal*, of which he was proprietor; and it was largely through the publicity thus given to it that all sorts and conditions of men saw the value of Sunday Schools, and assisted in their establishment.

The philanthropic work of Raikes was not confined to Sunday Schools. A constant visitor to the city prisons, he saw the evils of the prison system, and did much to alleviate them, before John Howard began his

famous labours as a prison reformer. Another county worker in the same field was Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, through whose efforts a new prison was built and a greatly improved system of prison management introduced. The work he did was continued and developed by Mr. Barwick Baker, of Hardwicke Court, Gloucester; and when, in 1836, the Government issued forty rules for prison management, Mr. Baker replied that thirty-five of them originated at Gloucester and had been adopted in America.

Three Fellows of the Royal Society deserve honourable mention in a list of Gloucestershire worthies. James Bradley, Astronomer Royal and Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, was a native of Sherborne, a village near Northleach, and was educated at Northleach Grammar School. He was the discoverer of the causes of the aberration of light and the nutation of the earth's axis; and George II granted him a pension of £250 a year "in consideration of his great skill and knowledge in several branches of astronomy and the other parts of mathematics, which have proved so useful to the trade and navigation of the Kingdom." He died in 1762, and was buried at Minchinhampton, a village near Stroud.

John Canton, son of a Stroud weaver, born in 1718, won his Fellowship of the Royal Society, and the gold medal of that body, by a paper he read in 1750 on "a method of making artificial magnets without the use of, and yet far superior to, any natural ones"; and he shares with Franklin the discovery of the positive and negative electrical conditions of clouds.

Sir Charles Wheatstone, the inventor of the electric telegraph, was born at Barnwood, near Gloucester, in 1802. The practicability of electric telegraphy was followed by many successive developments of the telegraph; and Wheatstone also demonstrated the possibility of submarine telegraphy by experiments, in the

year 1844, in Swansea Bay. He was knighted in 1868, in acknowledgment of "scientific labours which have rarely been equalled in their extent, their variety, and their usefulness."

Edward Jenner was a member of an ancient Gloucestershire family. Born at Berkeley in 1749, he afterwards practised there; and it was during his attendance upon farm servants that he learned the effects of cow-pox, which led him to the discovery of vaccination. His first experiment was tried in 1796. The practice rapidly spread, and when he died, in 1823, it had been widely adopted on the Continent and in America.

A few Gloucestershire names stand out in the ranks of literature. Robert Southey, who died in 1843, was the son of a Bristol draper, and in later life settled in the Lake district. Thomas Chatterton, the marvellous boy-poet, who committed suicide at the age of eighteen, was also a native of Bristol. John Taylor, known as "the water poet," was a Gloucester waterman, who went to London, where he poured forth his voluminous verse in the early half of the seventeenth century. John Keble, one of the leaders in the Oxford Movement, but best known as the author of the *Christian Year*, was born at Fairford in 1792, and published his chief work in 1827.

Sydney Dobell was born at Cranbrook, Kent, in 1824, but the greater part of his life was spent in Gloucestershire, chiefly near Cheltenham. He was only a young man when his sympathy with Italy in its struggle for national freedom inspired him to write *The Roman*, a poem which not only drew a warm eulogism from Mazzini, but also won the admiration of many eminent critics. On a visit to Milan a few years later, he had an enthusiastic welcome from the public. *Balder* was produced in 1854, only four years after *The Roman*. A number of minor pieces followed, but no other great work, which possibly may be explained by many years

of feeble health, a feebleness that ended his life at the age of fifty. Opinions of his poems vary. Professor Nichol gives him "a high and permanent place" among the English poets of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the truest appreciation is that of Professor Blackie—

> "My chaste-souled Sydney! thou wert carved too fine
> For coarse observance of the general eye:
> But who might look into thy soul's fair shrine
> Saw bright gods there, and felt their presence nigh.'

Among statesmen and lawyers of a bygone age the name of Sir Matthew Hale, a native of Alderley, near Wotton-under-Edge, stands pre-eminent. He lived during the troublous times of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. Cromwell made him a sergeant-at-law, and in the reign of Charles II he was created Lord Chief Baron of England; yet he allied himself to neither party, and, though elected one of the five knights to represent Gloucestershire in Cromwell's second Parliament, he resolutely followed a line of independent action. On the judicial bench his strict impartiality and honesty were such as to win for him the title of "the Upright Judge."

Henry, second Earl Bathurst, whose life extended over the greater part of the eighteenth century, was made Lord Chancellor in 1771. Sir John Rolt, born in Calcutta in 1804, belonged to an old Gloucestershire family, and spent his boyhood on the Cotswold Hills. In 1837 he was called to the Bar; eight years later he was offered the appointment of Advocate-General in Bengal, with a salary of £3,800 a year, but he declined the offer. In 1866 he was appointed Attorney-General, and in the following year he took a large share of the work in passing the Reform Bill of 1867 through the House of Commons. A few months later he obtained what he termed "the most honourable and valuable purely judicial appointment under the Crown" by being

elevated to the woolsack. Of statesmen still living may be mentioned Viscount St. Aldwyn, for several years Chancellor of the Exchequer, and at one time leader of the House of Commons.

Finally in the roll of old Gloucestershire worthies may be mentioned the historians. The *Chronicle of Britain*, written by Robert of Gloucester during the reign of Edward I, has literary as well as historical interest; so also has the history written by Richard of Cirencester in the fourteenth century.[1] The first history of the county was written by Sir Robert Atkyns, of Pimbury Park, near Cirencester, and was published in 1712, the year after his death. A great part of the first edition was accidentally destroyed by fire at the house of the printer, a fate which also befell the larger part of the second edition. In 1779 Samuel Rudder brought Atkyns's history up to date, and also published a history of Cirencester. Archdeacon Rudge issued a condensed history of the county in the early part of the nineteenth century, and a history of the city was written by Thomas Fosbroke, who died in 1842. The earliest account of the antiquities of the county came in 1803 from the pen of Samuel Lysons, keeper of the archives in the Tower of London; and a nephew of the same name, in 1860, published a work on the Roman remains in the county.

[1] This, however, has now been proved to be a forgery.—EDITOR.

APPENDIX

A list of the Norman doorways which have been noted, with references to the authorities by whom they have been described.

Abbreviations. Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society—*Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans.*

C. E. Keyser. A list of Norman Tympana and Lintels with Figure or Symbolical Sculpture, still or till recently existing in the Churches of Great Britain.—C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc.

*Personally visited by C. E. Keyser.

*Ampney Crucis Church. North.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., i. 23.

*Ampney, St. Mary's (Ashchurch) Church. North.
Carter, *Ancient Architecture*, vol. i. pl. xv.
Sheet of Doorways and Windows, by F. Bedford, jun.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xvi. 129.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. xxxix. 2, fig. 52.

*Ampney, St. Peter's (Eastington) Church. North and South.

*Ashchurch Church. South.

*Ashton-under-Hill Church. South.

*Aston Blank Church. North and South.

*Aston Somerville Church. South Chancel.

*Avening Church. North, South and North Transept.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xiv. 6.

*Barnwood Church. North.

*Barrington, Little, Church. South and Tympanum on North.
Archæological Journal, xxxv. 285.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. lxiii. 4, fig. 116.

*Beckford Church. North and South.
Ecclesiologist, vol. xxvi. (xxiii., new series), p. 313.
Archæologia, vol. xlvii. pp. 167, 172.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. xxxi, lv. 5, figs. 21, 95.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xix. 23.
J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 253, 261, 280, 282, 332, 365, figs. 90, 101.
Archæological Journal, lxii. (xii., 2nd series), p. 155.

*Berkeley Castle. Doorway to Keep, etc.
Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, pl. cxv.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., i. 126.

*Berkeley Church. South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., vi. 308.

*Beverston Church. South.

*Bibury Church. North.

*Bitton Church. North and South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., iii. 35.

*Boddington Church. North.

*Brimpsfield Church. South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xx. 320.

*Bristol Cathedral and Precincts (St. Augustine's Priory). Gateway, central and side arches, Entrance to Building on S. Chapter House, and fragments.
Builder, 1881, xli. 339.
Murray's *Handbook to the Western Cathedrals*, pp. 261, 264.

*Bristol, St. James' Church. Middle stage of tower.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xiii. 19.

*Broadwell Church. North Belfry and South Porch.
Ashby-de-la-Zouch Anastatic Drawing Society, 1855, pl. xix.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. xxxii. and 7, fig. 20.

*Buckland Fields Cottage. Walled-up Doorway.

*Bulley Church. South.

*Calcot Barn. Newington Bagpath. Tympanum.
Gentleman's Magazine, lxv. 385.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xi. 204.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. lii. and 8, fig. 91.

Campden Broad.

*Cerney, North, Church. South.

*Cerney, South, Church. North and South.
Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, pl. xliv.

*Churcham Church. North and South.

*Churchdown Church. Portions of North and South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xiii. pp. 274, 280 pl. xvi.

*Cirencester Abbey. Gateway and fragment.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., ii. 12.

*Cirencester Church. North Chancel Aisle.

*Cirencester Museum. Fragments.

*Clapton Church. South.

*Cleeve, Bishops, Church. West, South, South Porch, West end of South Aisle and East Wall of North Transept.
Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, pl. lix.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., iv. 248; xxviii. 16.

Clifford Chambers Church. North and South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xii. 216; xiv. 83.

*Coates Church. South.

*Coln St. Aldwyns Church. South.

*Compton Greenfield Church. South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., iii. 17.

*Condicote Church. South and fragments.

*Daglingworth Church. South and South Porch.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xx. 34.

*Deerhurst Church. West, Interior West, South, North of Nave (2), South of Nave (2), East of North Aisle.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., i. 101; xi. 20 and pl. iv.
George Bell & Sons' Series, *Tewkesbury and Deerhurst.*

*Deerhurst, The Grange Chapel. North.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xi. 106.
George Bell & Sons' Series, *Tewkesbury and Deerhurst.*

*Driffield Church. South and Tympanum.

*Dumbleton Church. North.
British Archæological Association Journal, xiv. new series, p. 258, fig. 8.

*Duntisbourne Rous Church. South and North.

*Dymock Church. South and North (Interior).
British Archæological Association Journal, xiv. new series, p. 256, fig. 4.

*Eastington. *See* Ampney St. Peter's.

*Ebrington Church. South.

*Elkstone Church. South, North and North Chancel Interior.
Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, pl. viii.
Archæologia, xlvii. 170.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., iv. 38, pl. i.; xx. 242.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. lxiv. 14, fig. 117.
Archæological Journal, xxxv. 285.
J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, fig. 42, pp. 163, 262, 265, 374.

*Farmington Church. South.

Flaxley Abbey. East side of large hall and South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., vi. 280.

*Gloucester Cathedral. South Transept and Chapter House.
Murray's *Handbook to the Western Cathedrals*, p. 48.
George Bell & Sons' Series, *Gloucester Cathedral.*

*Gloucester, Chapel of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Wootten. West and South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xxvi. 52.

*Gloucester, St. Mary De Crypt Church. West.

*Gloucester, St. Nicholas Church. South.
Archæologia, xlvii. 170.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. lviii. 17, fig. 103.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xxiii. 118.

*Gloucester, St. Oswald's Priory. Inserted in south aisle of church.

*Guiting, Power or Lower, Church. North and South.

*Guiting, Temple, Church. North and South.

*Hampnett Church. North.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., vii. 30.

*Harnhill Church. South.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. lxxi. and 18, fig. 139A.
Archæological Journal, lxii. (2nd series xii.), 143.

*Hawkesbury Church. North.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xiii. 10.

*Hawling Church. South.

*Hazelton Church. South.

*Hinton-on-the-Green Church. North and South.

*Horton Court, or Manor House. North and South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xxi. 13.

*Kempley Church. West and South, and North (Interior).
Archæological Journal, xxxiv. 270.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., x. 247.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. xxxiv, 22.

*Kempsford Church. North and South.

Lassington Church. South.

*Leach, East, Martine, Church. North and South.

*Leach, East, Turville, Church. South.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. lxii. and 25, fig. 115.

*Longborough Church. North and South.

*Miserden Church. North and South.

*Moreton Valence Church. North.
Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, pl. xxxvi.
J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 269, 273.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. lxxi. and 30, fig. 140.
Archæological Journal, lxii. (2nd series xii.), 145.

Newnham Church. Tympanum.

*Oddington Church. South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., vii. 87.

*Ozleworth Church. South.
Lysons' *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, pl. iii.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xi. 215.

*Pauntley Church. South.

Postlip Chapel. South.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæol. Soc. Trans., xiv. 206.
Dent, *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, pl. facing p. 79.

*Preston (near Cirencester) Church. South.

*Preston (near Ledbury) Church. North.
Archæologia, xlvii. 170.
M. H. Bloxam, *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 11th ed., i. 90.
C. E. Keyser, *A list of Norman Tympana*, etc., pp. lvii. and 36, fig. 101.
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*Willersey Church. North and South.

*Windrush Church. South.

*Winstone Church. North and South.

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Woolastone Church. South.

*Wootten Chapel. *See* Gloucester.

*Yanworth Church. North and South.

N.B.—Many of these doorways are mentioned in Murray's *Hanabook to Gloucestershire*, and Kelly's *Directory of Gloucestershire.*

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